

The Epistles of St. Paul
to the Corinthians

Gerald H. Rendall

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THE EPISTLES OF ST PAUL
TO THE CORINTHIANS



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TORONTO

THE EPISTLES OF ST PAUL TO THE CORINTHIANS

A STUDY PERSONAL AND HISTORICAL OF
THE DATE AND COMPOSITION OF
THE EPISTLES

BY

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ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου.
CLEM. ROM. *Ad Corinthios.*

*This hath He done and shall we not adore Him?
This shall He do, and can we still despair?
Come let us quickly fling ourselves before Him,
Cast at His feet the burden of our care,
Flash from our eyes the glow of our thanksgiving,
Glad and regretful, confident and calm,
Then thro' all life and what is after living
Thrill to the tireless music of a psalm.*

MYERS, *St Paul.*

ΥΠΑΓΑΓΕΤΕ ΤΗΝ
ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ
ΤΟΥ
ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ
ΠΑΥΛΟΥ
ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ

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THE EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS

§ I. SCOPE OF ESSAY.

The chronology of S. Paul's career and S. Paul's writings is gradually attaining completeness and consistency of sequence and of form; alternatives are yielding one by one to closer scrutiny; the whole is falling into a natural unity, that corresponds to the successive intervals and phases of experience; and each new determination of the historical context—the circumstances, the sequence and the relationships of individual Epistles—brings with it a juster appreciation of the character, the methods, the intellectual and spiritual crises and developments of the man himself. Each Epistle becomes a live and glowing transcript of some formative experience, which often furnishes the clue to other phases of behaviour and passages of self-expression. The present Essay will deal with a single section only of S. Paul's activities; but it is that section which, standing at the climax of his missionary career, produced that group of Epistles, which all schools of critics are agreed in regarding as the most unquestioned, and in some respects the most typical of all. Of these Epistles, one is—as a revelation of personality—more directly and more passionately autobiographical than anything else which S. Paul has left us. How often—in teacher or in theologian—is temperament the clue to understanding and interpretation! It is no exaggeration to say that no one will picture aright the life of S. Paul in its crowning phase of Missionary effort, and—what is yet more important—no one will justly divine and fathom his idiosyncrasies of temperament, until he can place the Epistles to the Corinthians, more particularly the Second Epistle,

in their true setting of time and place and circumstance. This vantage ground once gained, he will not only find fresh light shed upon adjacent and connected problems, but will also hold a clue, which he will follow without fear in unravelling kindred intricacies in other portions of the career and message of S. Paul.

Tradition has handed down the *Second Epistle to the Corinthians* as a complete and continuous whole. In so doing, it has robbed it of much of its interpretative value. Verse by verse, or bit by bit, it has indeed registered the beatings of a human heart, alike in their weakness and their strength, voicing the poignancy of the affections and the tenacity of the hopes, revealing the full measure and range of sensitive susceptibilities, now in the throes of apostolic indignation, now in the smart of wounded pride, now in the bitterness of misplaced trust, laying bare, to those who understand, the inmost soul of

S. Paul, the human,
With his droppings of warm tears,
And his touches of things common
Till they almost touch the spheres.

But the total impression has none the less remained somewhat confused and blurred, conveying somehow—notwithstanding its emotional intensity—the idea of a man who either erred in gift of insight, or else wavered in power of moral resolution, and who was thus destined to miss his due response, to take back all or most of what he gave, and to own his hopes and expectations thwarted by some misunderstood perversity of men and things. Such a S. Paul tallies imperfectly with the S. Paul who a few weeks or months later penned the Epistle to the Romans, or with the S. Paul implied in the contemporaneous record preserved in Acts. As compared with 1 Corinthians on the one side, or with the Epistle to the Romans on the other, 2 Corinthians has seemed weak and ineffectual. In explanation of this, it is not enough to say that personality is of less abiding and universal interest than doctrine or Church development—which is indeed far from true. But the fact is that at its highest and intensest point of self-expression, the personality itself seems wavering and confused,

and that while detached fragments—such, conspicuously, as 2 Cor. vi. 3 *vv.*, xi. 23 *vv.*, xii. 2 *vv.*—are supremely fine and memorable, the total impression lacks unity and strength; and with all our admiration for the astounding fortitude and intrepidity and self-devotion, which carried Paul from venture to venture of constructive Missionary enterprise, there mingles some sense of pitying allowance for that strain of fitful impulsiveness and even irresolution, which is not indeed rare in the chronicles of saintly lives, but which we do not expect in the master-builders of more heroic spiritual mould. This is not in keeping with the Paul we know—the Paul of the Acts, or the Paul of the Epistles. The vehemence is true to type—a note of character recurrent, often dominant—but not the instability. It finds expression in 1 Corinthians, in Romans, in Galatians. Later, in the Epistles of the Imprisonment, the calm is raised as clear of personal irresolution as that of Lord Strafford in the Tower; in the Pastoral Epistles, the Apostle is as light-hearted in the approach of death, as Sir Thomas More mounting to the block. How then in 2 Corinthians shall we account for the intrusion of another vein? Was it a moment of conflicting currents, not yet reduced to unity? or is it the result of some passing phase of nervous depressions and physical ill-health? Either supposition may contain an element of truth. But study of the Epistle itself reveals a far more satisfying way.

The trend of recent criticism has made strongly in favour of ascribing to S. Paul's *Second Epistle to the Corinthians* a composite origin, and of regarding it as made up of two distinct parts or sections, written at different times and under yet more different conditions, which some strange chance has from the first combined into an ill-assorted whole. Study, close and sympathetic, of the words and contents of the Epistle, has convinced me that here lies the key to difficulties that seemed perplexing and even irreconcilable, and the clue that restores not unity (for that was never in question) but naturalness, order and consistency to moods and thoughts, which otherwise cannot escape the charge of being changeful, unstable, and at times self-

contradictory. And my aim has been, with the help of this key, to re-examine that irritating and thorny problem of New Testament chronology, the exact time and place relations of the Epistles to the Corinthians, within the framework of S. Paul's career. The problem has been strangely provoking. Data seem so numerous and so ample, yet results so insecure and unconvincing, in the adjustment of detail. It is a Chinese puzzle, in which the edges ought to fit with perfect nicety, and in which the true solution will approve itself. And it seemed to me that there could be no better test of the truth of the disintegrating theory than to assume its truth, to take the Epistles verse by verse, and phrase by phrase, and see whether so scrutinised they stood the test, and yielded a harmonious scheme of action and chronology, as well as natural and living consecutions of feeling and expression.

A theory may seem plausible and captivating by virtue of happy coincidences and elucidations, which it offers upon the positive side. And these in the present instance have been set forth with arresting power and skill in such a work as Dr Kennedy's *Second and Third Epistles to the Corinthians*. But that is not enough to warrant its acceptance. It must be proved and tested all along the line. Does it at other points involve contradictions with the language or implications of the record? or does it under scrutiny meet and satisfy *all* the conditions of the case? does it give naturalness and reality to the circumstances touched, the positions assumed, the phrases used? does it restore psychological coherence to the whole? If so, the cumulative evidence in its favour becomes irresistible. This is the test to which I have submitted the theory, which regards the four last chapters of 2 Corinthians as an earlier letter, written under entirely different circumstances of time and place from those which called forth the first nine, and as itself bringing about those changed relations between St Paul and his Corinthian converts, which find their final reconciliation in the despatch of Chapters i—ix. From this crucial ordeal, if I mistake not, the theory emerges triumphantly, and finds therein its surest vindication.

The method thus pursued will also, I believe, give the best and most convincing order of presentation, and carry the reader's mind through the successive steps, which will gradually build up a certainty that the scheme put forward is true, that it has self-evidencing cogency and weight, that moving through a number of intricate and disconnected relationships, it explains or at least fits them all, that it relieves old perplexities without introducing new, that it gives fresh life, passion and continuity of development to that which is the most vivid and personal of all the chapters of self-revelation which S. Paul has left, and that it is thus indeed a key whose wards fit the lock in a way that leaves no doubt of genuine correspondence.

For study of this question the terms or numbers—First, Second, Third and Fourth Epistles—prove so confusing or ambiguous, that I have thought well to introduce a clear and unmistakable notation. In the following pages

Cor. α denotes the lost letter mentioned in 1 Cor. v. 9, and included in the more general reference of 2 Cor. x. 10.

Cor. β that usually known as the *First Epistle to Corinthians*.

Cor. γ Chapters i—ix of the *Second Epistle to Corinthians*.

Cor. δ Chapters x—xiii of the *Second Epistle to Corinthians*.

In supplying references, I shall always cite by the established notation, and by 1 Corinthians, or 2 Corinthians, indicate the Epistles usually so designated.

My plan then will be *First* to test and scrutinise Cor. δ (2 Cor. x—xiii) on the assumption that it is a letter written by S. Paul to the Corinthians, immediately on his return to Ephesus from an intermediate second visit to Corinth, unrecorded in the Acts, and falling near to the close of his long residence at Ephesus.

Secondly to test and scrutinise Cor. γ (2 Cor. i—ix) as an assumed *sequel* to Cor. δ, dealing with the position and the response which it elicited.

This done, and the resultant chronology laid down in detail, I shall revert to Cor. β, and see what place in the chronological scheme of events it must necessarily occupy, if it is to fit in with the results attained.

The strength of the whole case will depend on the inner coherence, historical and psychological, of the intimations furnished by the Epistles themselves, and also on their correspondence with the evidence supplied by the Acts of the Apostles or other sources. Facts, incidents, dates, extraneous references fit themselves with such provoking plausibility into varying schemes, that 'undesigned coincidences' are apt to carry one to conclusions as insecure as they are captivating. Where all seems sure, some new light will suddenly revise the whole arrangement. But personality is quite another thing, and to sympathetic questioning it yields evidence more subtle and perhaps more incommunicable, but in its essence more conclusive. Where the problem is so largely personal as here, the historical inquiry must be also a study in psychology. In the true scheme all will cohere: there must be truth and unity of personality. For this reason I have laid as much stress on sequences of mood and feeling, as upon incidents of time or action; and to help towards this, I have supplemented text and comments with a rendering or at times a paraphrase, intended to bring out the truth and emphasis of the language used—in Cor. δ making this continuous throughout. As the Revised Version attests, no part of the New Testament stands more in need of retranslation than the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and the work of the Revisers themselves was partly hampered by misapprehensions¹. For Cor. β and Cor. γ the misunderstandings are less easy and less serious, and Rutherford's recent translation has done something to lessen the need.

¹ For a glaring instance, see 2 Cor. xiii. 2.

CORINTHIANS Δ

Κ. Ι—2. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγὼ Παῦλος παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς διὰ τῆς πραύ-
 τητος καὶ ἐπιεικείας τοῦ χριστοῦ, ὃς κατὰ πρόσωπον μὲν ταπεινὸς
 2 ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀπὼν δὲ θαρρῶ εἰς ὑμᾶς· δέομαι δὲ τὸ μὴ παρὼν θαρρῆσαι τῇ
 πεπειθήσει ἢ λογίζομαι τολμῆσαι ἐπὶ τινας τοὺς λογιζομένους ἡμᾶς ὡς
 κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦντας.

... But as man to man I, Paul, make my personal appeal to you. Do they say that in person I am poor-spirited and 'lowly',¹ but in absence assume a bold front towards you? To Christ's own words I appeal, to his 'meekness' and gentleness of heart. But I beseech you not to lay on me the necessity of coming among you with the bold front, displaying the confidence to which I count that I must harden myself, in dealing with those who account of us as actuated only by worldly motives—motives not of the spirit but of the flesh.

¹ The words of Mt. xi. 29 are in the writer's mind.

§ II. EXAMINATION OF CORINTHIANS Δ.

X. 1. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγὼ Παῦλος. The opening is abrupt, and as following on Ch. ix is inexplicable. The initial δέ is in contrast with something that has preceded, and as clearly that something was neither in form nor in substance anything at all like ix. 15. Nor can the difficulty be relieved by attaching it to Ch. vii, and treating Chs. viii—ix as parenthetical. Those who contend for the unity of the Epistle assume an interval of time¹ between the two parts, the reception of disturbing and distressing news, and a change of situation, necessitating a complete change of tone. But these expedients fail to meet the case. The psychological inconsequence is far greater than the logical. Read as a continuation, the finish does not merely contradict, but stultify the opening. If S. Paul found himself driven to end thus, he must first have torn up i—vii, not left them a self-mockery of hope and expectation. A man may censure, reproach, mistrust, and then gradually relent into forgiveness and hopes of better things, but he does not, without even a note of explanation, allow a letter suffused with the joys of reconciliation to pass abruptly into a torrent of passionate, stern, and often sarcastic outbursts of expostulation, reproach, self-vindication, and appeal. Nor on the other hand does he preface censure, and the demand for satisfaction, with assurances of mutual sympathy and understanding that nothing can assail or shake. Still less does he intercalate between the two a hesitating request for a personal favour. But this will become clearer after detailed consideration of Chs. i—ix.

Throughout the whole section the entire church is addressed, not as some have tried to argue, the disaffected

¹ Ramsay makes place, as well as time, of writing different.

minority. This is clear from such passages as x. 6. 14, xi. 2. 9, xii. 19, and the malcontents, the *τινες* of x. 2, are a section among those to whom he makes his appeal.

The *αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγώ* must not be referred to writing with his own hand. It recurs three times in Romans, and is used in strong and even passionate personal appeal. The exact note of appeal depends upon the lost context, which preceded and led up to it, dealing probably with the methods and pretensions of his adversaries. See p. 19.

The vehement 1st pers. sing. is characteristic of this section, often with the insistent *ἐγώ, ἐμοῦ, ἐμοί, ἐμέ*, or (as in xii. 13) *αὐτὸς ἐγώ*, introduced. The 1st pers. plural (or *ἡμεῖς*) occurs in a few passages, (1) identifying the writer with his readers, as in x. 2—5, 8 or (2) including those associated with him in the ministry at Corinth, as in xi. 21, xii. 18, or (3) with the accent of authority, as in x. 11—14, while (4) in the final appeal, xiii. 4—9, where the tone becomes more persuasive, we find the familiar Pauline plural, in which he writes as one of the Christian community at Ephesus. In 2 Cor. i—ix, strictly personal plans, intentions, or retrospects (i. 15—ii. 13, vii. 8—16, ix. 3) are conveyed by the 1st pers. sing., but otherwise the Pauline plural is regularly used—as throughout i. 3—14—associating his own experiences with those of Timothy and his fellow-Christians.

- x. 1. *ὃς κατὰ πρόσωπον μὲν ταπεινὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀπὼν δὲ θαρρῶ.* Throughout S. Paul quotes the phrases and judgments of *his opponents*. They are continually recurring to his mind, they give life and physiognomy to the whole of this section. I shall note some of them as they occur, but it will be well at the outset to gather together the principal instances, and so quicken attention to their recurrence.

Besides the express quotation of x. 10, note

ταπεινός x. 1, xi. 7, xii. 21, with which compare *πανούργος* xii. 16.

x. 3—6. ἐν σαρκὶ γὰρ περιπατοῦντες οὐ κατὰ σάρκα στρατευόμεθα,—τὰ γὰρ ὅπλα τῆς στρατείας ἡμῶν οὐ σαρκικὰ ἀλλὰ δυνατὰ τῷ
 5 θεῷ πρὸς καθαίρεσιν ὀχυρωμάτων,—λογισμοὺς καθαιροῦντες καὶ πᾶν
 ὑψωμα ἐπαιρόμενον κατὰ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζοντες
 6 πᾶν νόημα εἰς τὴν ὑπακοὴν τοῦ χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐν ἐτοιμίᾳ ἔχοντες
 ἐκδικῆσαι πᾶσαν παρακοήν, ὅταν πληρωθῇ ὑμῶν ἡ ὑπακοή.

We walk in the flesh, but our warfare is no warfare of the flesh. The weapons of our warfare are no weapons of the flesh; but by the power of God are strong to cast down fortresses of wrong; casting down the fabrics of reason, and every high place that exalts itself against the knowledge of God, and leading every thought of man into captivity to the obedience of Christ, ready and prepared to exact the retribution for every rebellious act, when you yourselves have fully learned the lesson of obedience.

ἀσθενής x. 10, reiterated in xi. 30, xii. 5. 9. 10, and xiii. 4. 9.

θαρρῶ x. 1. 2, with which compare 2 Cor. vii. 16, and τολμᾶν x. 2. 12, xi. 21.

καυχᾶσθαι and its congeners x. 8. 13—18, xi. 10. 16—18, xii. 1. 5—6. 9, a characteristic and reiterated term, re-echoed, played upon, and expressly referred to in Cor. γ.

ἀπών and παρών taunt, introduced x. 2, repeated x. 11 and xiii. 10, and referred to in 2 Cor. ii. 3.

πλεονεκτεῖν 2 Cor. ix. 5, xii. 17. 18; and possibly the unusual καταναρκεῖν xi. 9, xii. 13. 14; if so, Jerome's explanation of the word as belonging to the Cilician vernacular may be dismissed.

ἀφροσύνη, ἄφρων xi. 1. 16. 17. 18. 19, xii. 6. 11.

συνιστάνειν x. 11. 12. 18 and xii. 11, referred to in 2 Cor. iii. 1, iv. 2, v. 12, vi. 4, vii. 11, and perhaps the accompanying ἐγκρίναι.

Possibly ἐκφοβεῖν x. 9 (with which note the ὡς ἄν).

So the ταπεινός here takes up the charge, and probably the actual language of his adversaries, and is countered by the appeal to Christ's own vindication of the ταπεινός. There is an unmistakeable reference to the words of Christ recorded in Mt. xi. 29 ἄρατε τὸν ζυγόν μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, καὶ μάθετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ὅτι πρῶτός εἰμι καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ. Eph. iv. 2, Col. iii. 12 repeat the combination the latter adding χρηστότητα from the ὁ ζυγός μου χρηστός.

x. 3. ἐν σαρκὶ περιπατοῦντες.... The reference is not to carnal sins, previously denounced at Corinth, but to the Apostle's own sense of human weakness and infirmities.

x. 4. λογισμούς...ὑψωμα. The language implies (1) claims to intellectual superiority, a Jewish σοφία, and (2) pretensions of prerogative, authority and caste—and is entirely appropriate to Judaising detractors.

x. 7—9. τὰ κατὰ πρόσωπον βλέπετε. εἴ τις πέποιθεν ἑαυτῷ
 χριστοῦ εἶναι, τοῦτο λογιζέσθω πάλιν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι καθὼς αὐτὸς
 8 χριστοῦ οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς. ἐάν τε γὰρ περισσότερόν τι καυχήσωμαι
 περὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἡμῶν, ἧς ἔδωκεν ὁ κύριος εἰς οἰκοδομὴν καὶ οὐκ εἰς
 9 καθαίρεσιν ὑμῶν, οὐκ αἰσχυνθήσομαι· ἵνα μὴ δόξω ὡς ἂν ἐκφοβεῖν
 ὑμᾶς διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν.

Your eyes are upon things external, when the true test is spiritual. If any of you enjoys the inward conviction that he does indeed belong to Christ, surely his own experience must constrain him to admit, that what is true of himself, is true in no less degree of us. I too am Christ's. Even supposing that I have gone too far (as some suggest) in making a boast of the authority confided to me—an authority bestowed on me by Christ himself, as a means to build you up, not overthrow your faith—he will not let me be put to shame. But I forbear all boasting: I will not expose myself anew to the charge of threatening and domineering letters.

- x. 6. ἐκδικῆσαι πᾶσαν παρακοὴν ὅταν πληρωθῇ ὑμῶν ἢ ὑπακοή.
It may be said that they are still contumacious as a body, and that Paul requires and awaits their return to obedience; but I rather understand παρακοήν of the perverse and rebellious opposition of the particular antagonist, with which he will deal, as it deserves, when their obedient loyalty is secure. The ὑμῶν ὑπακοή is in contrast with the individual παρακοή.

- x. 7. τὰ κατὰ πρόσωπον. Personal qualifications, with reference to the fine impressive bearing of opponent; or perhaps, to the historic and traditional credentials advanced by him.

The εἴ τις is not the adversary, but identical with the subject of λογιζέσθω and the following αὐτός. The inner conviction, which assures you of membership in Christ, avers the same of me. I appeal to it, not to threats or claims, as the witness of my apostleship. The εἴ τις πέποιθεν ἐαυτῷ, as the numerous parallels show, would hardly be used of mere vain assumption.

- x. 8. εἰάν τε γὰρ περισσότερόν τι καυχῆσωμαι περὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἡμῶν. Even admitting the justice of charges brought against him of 'too pretentious boasting,' he none the less asserts his authority, as expressly committed to him by Christ for the building up of faith in others. - It is not a question of frightening them (ἐκφοβεῖν v. 9), but of right or title to their obedience. His letters are not to be discounted, and set on one side, as more effective than his personal power and presence: he stands upon his commission from God, his prerogative as an apostle—his 'measure' as assigned and meted to him by God as Apostle to the Gentiles, emphatically extending to Corinth, the Church of his own planting (v. 13, 14)—and destined, in the strength of their faith, to extend yet further εἰς τὰ ὑπερέκεινα ὑμῶν sc. *Rome*, which is already clearly in his mind. Cf. Acts xix. 21 attributing the plan to the end of his *Ephesus* stay.

As instances of the dictatorial ὡς ἂν ἐκφοβεῖν διὰ τῶν

X. 10—11. ὅτι Αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ μὲν, φησὶν, βαρεῖαι καὶ ἰσχυραί, ἡ
 11 δὲ παρουσία τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενὴς καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐξουθενημένος. τοῦτο
 λογίζεσθω ὁ τοιοῦτος, ὅτι οἱοί ἐσμεν τῷ λόγῳ δι' ἐπιστολῶν ἀπόντες,
 τοιοῦτοι καὶ παρόντες τῷ ἔργῳ.

'For his letters,' saith he, 'are weighty¹ and strong, but his bodily presence is weak and his word of none account.' I would have such an one to understand, that what we are in word and by letter when absent, that same will we be in act when present.

¹ βαρεῖαι means 'stern' as well as 'weighty.'

ἐπιστολῶν may be cited 1 Cor. v. 5 the injunction 'to hand over the wrongdoer to Satan for the destruction of the flesh,' the rather peremptory ὡπερ διέταξα, ... οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιήσατε of 1 Cor. xvi. 1, and the closing *Anathema* of 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

- x. 10. αἱ ἐπιστολαί, φησί. This makes it certain that *S. Paul had already addressed one, and probably more letters* to them, of a kind which might be described as βαρεῖαι καὶ ἰσχυραί. Such terms might fairly be applied, especially by an unfriendly critic, to Cor. β, but the repetition of *plural* in δι' ἐπιστολῶν v. 11 is significant, and points decisively to *more than one* previous letter. Thus it corroborates the reference in 1 Cor. v. 9 to the lost Cor. α, partly at least consisting of rebuke; and no assumption of additional lost letters is requisite, though the phrase suggests frequency of correspondence.

ὁ λόγος ἐξουθενημένος. The phrase is referable to the experiences of his *second visit*, in which he had been more or less openly flouted and set at naught. As a guide to the meaning, observe the *perfect* participle. I understand it to mean—not 'His speech is contemptible,' which is at variance with the whole record of Acts; but, his teaching, his doctrine has been discredited, and set at naught. Cf. 1 Cor. i. 23. This is the proper rendering of λόγος, which can hardly = oratorical gift and power. Moreover the λόγος is expressly used of S. Paul absent, as well as present. Similarly in 1 Cor. iv. 19 ὁ λόγος denotes the teaching, the tenets, the scheme of doctrine and profession, as compared with τὴν δύναμιν the outgoing of spiritual power, as attested by the various χαρίσματα and exhibited in the life. So again in xi. 6, he repudiates the charge of being ιδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ an unauthorised innovator in *the teaching* he put forward.

ἐξουθενημένον finds its exact counterpart in the ἐξουθενημένους of 1 Cor. vi. 4, applied to the legal officials, who are of no moral account, not to be recognised as authorities or adjudicators, as between members of the Christian community who own a higher law.

- Χ. 12—15. οὐ γὰρ τολμῶμεν ἐνκρίναι ἢ συγκρίναι ἑαυτοὺς τισιν τῶν ἑαυτοὺς συνιστανόντων· ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς μετροῦντες
 13 καὶ συγκρίνοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς οὐ συνιᾶσιν. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ εἰς τὰ ἄμετρα καυχησόμεθα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τοῦ κανόνος οὗ ἐμέρισεν
 14 ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς μέτρον, ἐφικέσθαι ἄχρι καὶ ὑμῶν.—οὐ γὰρ ὥς μὴ ἐφικνούμενοι εἰς ὑμᾶς ὑπερεκτείνομεν ἑαυτοὺς, ἄχρι γὰρ καὶ ὑμῶν ἐφθάσαμεν
 15 ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ χριστοῦ.—οὐκ εἰς τὰ ἄμετρα καυχώμενοι ἐν ἁλλοτρίοις κόποις, ἐλπίδα δὲ ἔχοντες αὐξανομένης τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν ἐν ὑμῖν μεγαλυνθῆναι κατὰ τὸν κανόνα ἡμῶν εἰς περισσείαν,

We have not the temerity, you see, to pair¹ or to compare ourselves with some of those whose title is self-commendation; but in measuring themselves against themselves, and comparing themselves with themselves, they have no understanding. We will not make our boast beyond due measures, but according to the measure of the rule which God apportioned to us by measure, permitting us to extend our range as far as Corinth. It cannot be said that in extending our range to you we are overstepping our proper limits; for at Corinth too (as well as elsewhere) we were first in the field with the Gospel of Christ. We are not intruding upon the labours of others, not making our boast beyond the measure appointed to us, though we cherish the hope that the increase of the faith at Corinth will yet further extend our sphere, and keeping within the appointed rule yet amplify our range abundantly,

¹ The characteristic verbal assonance seems worth preserving.

The initial *φησί* is interesting, and the alternative *φασίν* (shown by B only among the uncial mss.) is untenable. It is an unmistakeable reference to the *personal opponent*, whose words rankle so constantly in S. Paul's memory, and are retorted in other passages as well as this. S. Paul nowhere else uses the phrase, excepting in 1 Cor. vi. 16 of a familiar, almost proverbial, scripture 'The twain shall be one flesh' from Gen. ii. 24. The singular *ὁ τοιοῦτος* in v. 11 repeats the personal reference, and is not merely generic, and so again the *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* of xi. 4. I should not hesitate to identify the particular antagonist with the delinquent denoted as *τις* (and again *ὁ τοιοῦτος*) and singled out for punishment 2 Cor. ii. 5—8, and described as *ὁ ἀδικήσας* in 2 Cor. vii. 12.

As a sound conjecture—though incapable of proof—I believe that he was referred to explicitly in the lost opening of Cor. 8, and that the abrupt *αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγὼ Παῦλος*, with which the epistle now opens, stands in contrast to this mention. The lost antithesis must have referred to an adverse party or individual, and would make the *φησί*, the *ὁ τοιοῦτος* and the *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* intelligible and natural.

x. 12, 13. *οὐ γὰρ τολμῶμεν*, 'No, we do not presume to....'

The verses show us what direction the claims and charges of the 'Kephass' party and the 'Christ' party had eventually taken, and may be reserved for treatment in that connexion. They constitute the direct link between Cor. β and Cor. 8, with a becoming interval for the development of party cries. The *ἐνκρίναι* may be the word of the opponent, just as *συνιστάνειν ἑαυτούς*, which recurs (with a touch of apology) in 2 Cor. iii. 1, but seems rather a characteristically Pauline assonance suggested by *συνκρίναι*, and adding its touch of bitterness to the irony of the whole clause. He reverts to the charge of 'boasting,' contrasting his own ground of boasting with that of his opponents. Theirs found its measure in the scale of self-importance and self-assertion; his in the extension of the Gospel within the sphere assigned

X. 16—18. εἰς τὰ ὑπερέκεινα ὑμῶν εὐαγγελίσασθαι, οὐκ ἐν
 17 ἄλλοτρίῳ κανόνι εἰς τὰ ἔτοιμα καυχήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ καυχώμενος ἐν
 18 Κυρίῳ καυχάσθω· οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἑαυτὸν συνιστάνων, ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν δόκιμος,
 ἀλλὰ ὃν ὁ κύριος συνίστησιν.

*for the preaching of the Gospel on the further side of Corinth,
 that without trespassing on others' rule we may yet widen our
 boasting to the sphere prepared for us. He that boasteth, let him
 boast in the Lord. Not he that commendeth himself is approved,
 but he whom the Lord commendeth.*

xi. 1. ὄφελον ἀνείχεσθέ μου μικρόν τι ἀφροσύνης· ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ἀνέχεσθέ μου.

*I would ye had borne a little more patiently with what you call
 my 'folly'! Nay, but bear with me now!*

- to him—τὸ μέτρον τοῦ κανόνος viz. the express and limited commission to *the Gentile world* (Acts xiii. 46, xv. 12 &c.). But outside of this he had no desire, like them, to trespass and intrude and annex. Corinth came within its proper range, and Corinth once established in the faith was the stepping-stone to Rome. The reference to *Rome* is clear; and that the visit to Rome was already in his mind during the stay at Ephesus, and at the very time to which we assign this section of the Epistle, is the express testimony of Acts xix. 21. It *precedes* the Demetrius riot and the closing scenes at Ephesus. And though the point is not one to press too hard, the words are more natural here, than if written later from Macedonia. For by that time Jerusalem, not Rome, was his objective, and filled at least the foreground of his outlook, 2 Cor. i. 16.
- x. 16. τὰ ὑπερέκεινα ὑμῶν. In a letter from Ephesus to Corinth, the phrase aptly describes Rome. It would be far less appropriate, indeed unnatural and inadmissible, if the writer were in Macedonia. Neither topographically, nor by prospective route, could Rome then be said to lie on the further side of Corinth. Slight as it may seem, the incidental and instinctive turn of phrase is a striking corroboration of *Ephesian* composition, that is to say of separation of the two parts of the Epistle.
- xi. 1. ὄφελον ἀνείχεσθε. Surely of the past—‘Would that ye *had* borne’ referring to the fresh and painful experience of his recent (second) visit, when they refused a fair or patient hearing of claim, and scouted his appeal as folly (ἀφροσύνη). The word had stung him, and rankles in memory—οὐκ ἔσομαι ἄφρων xii. 6, and cf. xi. 16. 17. 19. 21 and xii. 11. In 1 Cor. iv. 8 ὄφελόν γε ἐβασιλεύσατε—the only parallel in S. Paul’s language—means ‘I would ye had attained the Kingdom.’ He uses the future ὄφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται in Gal. v. 12, where the future is in question. [The only other N.T. occurrence is ὄφελον ψυχρὸς ἦς Rev. iii. 15,

xi. 2—6. ζηλώ γὰρ ὑμᾶς θεοῦ ζήλω, ἡρμοσάμην γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐνὶ
 3 ἀνδρὶ παρθένον ἀγνὴν παραστήσαι τῷ χριστῷ· φοβοῦμαι δὲ μή πως,
 ὡς ὁ ὄφις ἐξηπάτησεν Εὐάν ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτοῦ, φθαρῇ τὰ νοήματα
 4 ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπλότητος [καὶ τῆς ἀγνότητος] τῆς εἰς τὸν χριστόν. εἰ
 μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἄλλον Ἰησοῦν κηρύσσει ὃν οὐκ ἐκηρύξαμεν, ἢ
 πνεῦμα ἕτερον λαμβάνετε ὃ οὐκ ἐλάβετε, ἢ εὐαγγέλιον ἕτερον ὃ οὐκ
 5 ἐδέξασθε, καλῶς ἀνέχεσθε. λογίζομαι γὰρ μηδὲν ὑστερηκέναι τῶν
 6 ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ γνώσει,
 ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ φανερώσαντες ἐν πᾶσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς.

I am jealous for your love, even as God is jealous: for I espoused you as a virgin to her husband, presenting you in maiden purity to Christ. And my fear is that, as the serpent beguiled Eve with his craftiness, so your thoughts may be corrupted from single-hearted following of Christ. If the new-comer, be he who he may, preaches another Jesus than that Jesus whom we preached, or if ye receive another Spirit than that which ye received from us, or another Gospel than that which ye accepted from us, you bear with it to admiration, your patience is exemplary! Why the difference? I claim that I am no whit behind the superfinest of apostles. If my teaching is decried as distinctive and particular, that certainly is not from lack of knowledge or of insight—in everything and everywhere I have made plain the marks of my commission.

where again translate 'I would thou hadst been (and wert) cold.']

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνέχεσθε 'at least bear with me now,' in contrast to the past.

xi. 2. ἡρμόσαμην ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ. I espoused you not to myself, or to Apollos, or to this or that favoured teacher, but to Christ. Cf. 1 Cor. iii. 11. 23, &c.

xi. 4. ὁ ἐρχόμενος is unmistakeably personal, and confirms that interpretation of φησὶν x. 10 and ὁ τοιοῦτος in the following verse. It denotes the emissary, doubtless from Jerusalem, who claimed apostolic authority to foment disaffection against S. Paul. The personal reference gives point to the sarcastic καλῶς ἀνέχεσθε 'you bear with him magnificently,' 'show splendid patience.'

xi. 6. ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ. See on x. 10. I can hardly think this refers only or chiefly to power of expression. It is an unlikely and not very telling charge, at variance with fact and with the evidence. Contrast Acts xiv. 12. It concerns the *content*, far more than the form, of teaching. The allegation was that his teaching was distinctive and particularist, departing from tradition and authority, and 'of private interpretation' (ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως 2 Pet. i. 20)—precisely the charge which Judaising opponents, of the ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι type, would bring. In the mouth of a Jew, ἰδιώτης means lack of professional training and equipment, just as in Acts iv. 13.

xi. 6. φανερώσαντες. In everything we *made it plain*—sc. made plain our knowledge, our commission, our inspiration from God—by prophecy, powers, and the various χαρίσματα, which he had exhibited in his work and teaching among them, all the τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ ἀποστόλου recounted in xii. 12. The word applies to personal presence and ministry—and from the context is referable to the second visit even more than to the first *unchallenged* ministry.

xi. 7—15. ἡ ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησα ἐμαυτὸν ταπεινῶν ἵνα ὑμεῖς
 ὑψωθῆτε, ὅτι δωρεὰν τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγέλιον εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν;
 8 ἄλλας ἐκκλησίας ἐσύλησα λαβὼν ὀψώνιον πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν διακονίαν,
 9 καὶ παρὼν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑστερηθεὶς οὐ κατενάρκησα οὐθενός· τὸ γὰρ
 ὑστέρημά μου προσανεπλήρωσαν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἔλθόντες ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας·
 10 καὶ ἐν παντὶ ἀβαρῇ ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἐτήρησα καὶ τηρήσω. ἔστιν ἀλήθεια
 χριστοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ ὅτι ἡ καύχσις αὕτη οὐ φραγῆσεται εἰς ἐμὲ ἐν τοῖς
 11 κλίμασι τῆς Ἀχαΐας. διὰ τί; ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαπῶ ὑμᾶς; ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν.
 12 ὁ δὲ ποιῶ καὶ ποιήσω, ἵνα ἐκκόψω τὴν ἀφορμὴν τῶν θελόντων ἀφορμὴν,
 13 ἵνα ἐν ᾧ καυχῶνται εὐρεθῶσιν καθὼς καὶ ἡμεῖς. οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι
 ψευδαπίστολοι, ἐργάται δόλιοι, μετασχηματιζόμενοι εἰς ἀποστόλους
 14 χριστοῦ· καὶ οὐ θαῦμα, αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Σατανᾶς μετασχηματίζεται εἰς
 15 ἄγγελον φωτός· οὐ μέγα οὖν εἰ καὶ οἱ διάκονοι αὐτοῦ μετασχηματί-
 ζονται ὡς διακονοὶ δικαιοσύνης, ὧν τὸ τέλος ἔσται κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν.

Was I at fault in abasing myself that ye might be exalted, in thus preaching the Gospel of God gratuitously and for naught? I despoiled other churches, not you, in taking from them allowances which enabled me to minister to you. When I was with you and in lack, I laid no weight on any. That which I lacked was more than made good by the brethren when they came from Macedonia. From first to last I kept myself from inflicting any burden upon you, and will so keep myself. As surely as the truth of Christ is in me, I will not be debarred from this ground of boasting throughout the length and breadth of Achaia. And why? Because I love you not? God knoweth. My reason for persisting in this course, is that I may take away all handle from those who are only too ready to find a handle against me, that their own boasts may be exposed, and that they and I alike may be seen in our true character. Men such as they are false apostles, deceivers in their work, adopting the guise of apostles of Christ. And no wonder, when Satan himself adopts the guise of an angel of light. It is nothing extraordinary if his ministers too adopt the guise of ministers of righteousness. As their works, so shall their end be.

- xi. 7. δωρεάν. He had taken no pay—it was his ‘point of honour’ 2 Cor. xii. 14–18—more fully developed, and in similar connexion in 1 Cor. ix. This goes back to his first ministry, but is used to refute aspersions brought against him later, after his departure.
- xi. 9. οἱ ἀδελφοί ἐλθόντες ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας. It is worthy of remark that the phrase employed is more natural in a letter written from Ephesus, than in a letter written from Macedonia itself, in which some local recognition or some other form of phrase would have at least been natural. οἱ ἀδελφοί—the definite article makes it clear that the persons and the occasion were familiar to the Corinthians, and it is generally assumed that Timothy and Silvanus are referred to (Acts xviii. 5), just as they are in 2 Cor. i. 19. It is just possible, and the παρών would rather favour this, that the reference is to the second visit, not to the prolonged first residence. And the δαπανήσω of xii. 15 suits the supposition well. The κατενάρκησα is repeated in the same connexion xii. 13. 14.
- xi. 22. Ἐβραῖοί εἰσιν; The rivals and antagonists are clearly *Jews*. But, as McGiffert¹ well points out, it does not at all follow that they were (as in Galatia) ‘*Judaisers*.’ The attack on Paul was personal, aimed at his claims, his methods and his authority, not necessarily at that part of his teaching which advocated Gentile liberties. Of this there is no trace in Cor. 8 or Cor. 7.
- xi. 24. This is reiterated in the emphatic ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων opening the enumeration of his sufferings. It is the same old story.
- xi. 24, 25. We cannot identify all the various castigations referred to.

Of the five scourgings by Jews, none is definitely recorded, but the possible occasions are too numerous for profitable conjecture or identification. Of the ‘beatings *with rods*,’ sc. by Roman officials, that at Philippi is narrated in

¹ *Hist. of Apostolic Age*, pp. 315, 316.

xi. 16—25. πάλιν λέγω, μή τις με δόξη ἄφρονα εἶναι.—εἰ δὲ
 17 μήγε, καὶ ὡς ἄφρονα δέξασθέ με, ἵνα καὶ γὼ μικρόν τι καυχῆσωμαι· ὁ
 18 λαλῶ οὐ κατὰ κύριον λαλῶ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ἀφροσύνῃ, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὑπο-
 19 στάσει τῆς καυχήσεως. ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ καυχῶνται κατὰ [τὴν] σάρκα,
 20 καὶ γὼ καυχῆσομαι. ἡδέως γὰρ ἀνέχεσθε τῶν ἀφρόνων φρόνιμοι ὄντες·
 21 ἀνέχεσθε γὰρ εἴ τις ὑμᾶς καταδουλοῦ, εἴ τις κατεσθίει, εἴ τις λαμβάνει,
 22 εἴ τις ἐπαίρεται, εἴ τις εἰς πρόσωπον ὑμᾶς δέρει. κατὰ ἀτιμίαν λέγω,
 23 ὡς ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἡσθηθήκαμεν· ἐν ᾧ δ' ἂν τις τολμᾷ, ἐν ἀφροσύνῃ λέγω,
 24 τολμῶ καὶ γὼ. Ἑβραῖοί εἰσιν; καὶ γὼ. Ἰσραηλεῖταί εἰσιν; καὶ γὼ.
 25 σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ εἰσιν; καὶ γὼ. διάκονοι χριστοῦ εἰσίν; παραφρονῶν
 λαλῶ, ὑπὲρ ἐγώ· ἐν κόποις περισσοτέρως, ἐν φυλακαῖς περισσοτέρως, ἐν
 24 πληγαῖς ὑπερβαλλόντως, ἐν θανάτοις πολλάκις· ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων πεντάκις
 25 τεσσαεράκοντα παρὰ μίαν ἔλαβον, τρεῖς ἐραβδίσθην, ἅπαξ ἐλιθάσθην,
 τρεῖς ἐνανάγησα, νυχθήμερον ἐν τῷ βυθῷ πεποίηκα·

I say once more—Let none regard me as a fool; or if that must be so, grant me the fool's privilege, allow me too my share of boasting. My words are not in the spirit of the Lord, they are words of folly, words of confidence in boasting. As boasting is in fashion, I too will make my boast. Your pleasure is to bear with fools, you are yourselves so wise. You bear with any who enslaves, who devours, who takes of what is yours, who exalts himself, who slaps you in the face. I use the word of dishonour, for have not you reproached me for my weakness? Where others do not lack courage, I use the word of folly, I too can vie in courage. Hebrews, are they? so am I. Israelites? So am I. The seed of Abram? So am I. Ministers of Christ? It is mad talk—much more am I. In toils immeasurably more; in imprisonments, immeasurably; in stripes, beyond compare; in deaths, oft. Of the Jews five times did I receive the forty stripes save one; thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day have I spent in the deep.

Acts xvi. 22. The possibilities are limited to Roman *Coloniae*—Antioch, Lystra, Philippi (Iconium did not become a *Colonia* until the time of Hadrian)—and to seats of pro-consular jurisdiction, esp. Ephesus, Thessalonica, and Corinth itself. S. Paul's later reference to 'what things befell me at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra,' in 2 Tim. iii. 11, and the place assigned in the enumeration, suggest Antioch and Lystra, while Lystra was certainly the scene of the stoning (Acts xiv. 19).

The *τῆς ἐνανάγησης* deserves more careful inquiry, for the possibilities are easily exhausted. Limiting ourselves to S. Paul's missionary career, as the context demands, we may ignore any earlier voyages, such as that of Acts ix. 30. From the beginning of the Missionary work up to the residence at Ephesus, every movement is known to us, and we can consider the sea-voyages in order.

First there was the voyage from Seleucia to Salamis (Acts xiii. 4, 5), but in this case fine weather can be inferred from the landing at Salamis¹.

In the *second* voyage, from Paphos to Perga (Acts xiii. 13), a possibility of shipwreck is open, though there is nothing to suggest it.

The *third* voyage from Troas to Samothrace, and thence to Neapolis, we are expressly told, was favourable—Acts xvi. 11, 12.

On the next, the *fourth*, from Beroëa to Athens, the language used and the time of year² (August) combine to make disaster unlikely—Acts xvii. 15.

On the *fifth* voyage, from Cenchreæ to Ephesus (Acts xviii. 18), and on from Ephesus to Cæsarea (Acts xviii. 22), the risk was far greater, but the description goes far to preclude disaster, and his arrival in time for the Feast (implied in the *ἀναβὰς*) confirms this beyond all reasonable doubt.

Thus of the three shipwrecks, one if not two *must have*

¹ See Ramsay, *St Paul the Traveller*, p. 70.

² Ramsay, *St Paul*, p. 234.

xi. 26—xii. 10. ὁδοιπορίαις πολλάκις, κινδύνους ποταμῶν, κινδύνους ληστῶν, κινδύνους ἐκ γένους, κινδύνους ἐξ ἔθνων, κινδύνους ἐν πόλει, κινδύνους ἐν ἐρημίᾳ, κινδύνους ἐν θαλάσῃ, κινδύνους 27 ἐν ψευδαδέλφοις, κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ, ἐν ἀγρυπνίαις πολλάκις, ἐν λιμῷ 28 καὶ δίψει, ἐν νηστείαις πολλάκις, ἐν ψύχει καὶ γυμνότητι· χωρὶς τῶν παρεκτὸς ἢ ἐπίστασίς μοι ἢ καθ' ἡμέραν, ἢ μέριμνα πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλη- 29 σιῶν. τίς ἀσθενεῖ, καὶ οὐκ ἀσθενῶ; τίς σκανδαλίζεται, καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ 30 πυροῦμαι; εἰ καυχᾶσθαι δεῖ, τὰ τῆς ἀσθενείας [μου] καυχῆσομαι. 31 ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ οἶδεν, ὁ ὢν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς 32 αἰῶνας, ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι. ἐν Δαμασκῷ ὁ ἐθνάρχης Ἀρέτα τοῦ βασιλέως 33 ἐφρούρει τὴν πόλιν Δαμασκηνῶν πιάσαι με, καὶ διὰ θυρίδος ἐν σαργάνῃ 1 ἐχαλάσθην διὰ τοῦ τείχους καὶ ἐξέφυγον τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ. καυχᾶσθαι 2 δεῖ· οὐ συμφέρον μὲν, ἐλεύσομαι δὲ εἰς ὀπτασίας καὶ ἀποκαλύψεις 2 Κυρίου. οἶδα ἄνθρωπον ἐν χριστῷ πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκατεσσάρων,—εἴτε ἐν 3 σώματι οὐκ οἶδα, εἴτε ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος οὐκ οἶδα, ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν, 3 —ἄρπαγέντα τὸν τοιοῦτον ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ. καὶ οἶδα τὸν τοιοῦτον

In journeyings often, in perils of rivers, in perils of robbers, in perils from kinsmen, in perils from the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren, in toil and travail, in nights of sleeplessness, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness. And apart from things exceptional, that which presses upon me daily, solicitude for all the churches. Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is made to offend, and I burn not? If boast I must, I will boast of things that belong unto my weakness. The God and Father of our Lord Jesus, he that is blessed for evermore, knoweth that I lie not. In Damascus the ethnarch of Aretas the king set a guard over the city of the Damascenes in order to arrest me, and through an opening in the wall I was let down in a basket, and so escaped from his hands. I needs must boast, though boasting profiteth not, but I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord. I know a man in Christ—it is now fourteen years ago—whether in the body I know not, or whether out of the body, God knoweth—such an one caught up unto the third heaven. Such a man I know—whether

occurred subsequently to the beginning of the residence at Ephesus. And the language of the text makes it clear, that one of the three befel him on the return journey from his second visit to Corinth. The sudden change from aorist to perfect in *πεποίηκα* cannot be accidental. The only natural explanation is that it is of recent occurrence, still vividly present to memory, a crowning danger from which he has just escaped. This too accounts for its position in the enumeration, which in its main lines is chronological. It reveals to us a detail of the unrecorded visit by sea from Ephesus to Corinth, culminating in shipwreck and a night and a day of drifting on the deep. Fresh from this experience he takes pen in hand to write. And the Epistle is the first act on his return—a vehement vindication of his claims, with passionate appeal. The time of year at which he undertook the visit makes such disaster more probable and natural. (See *Chronological Synopsis* at end.)

- xi. 26. ἐν πόλει: πόλις is the correct term for Ephesus, which is naturally uppermost in his mind, as shown by Acts xix. 29, 35.
- xi. 28. ἡ μέριμνα πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν recalls vividly the active propaganda in the Churches round about Ephesus—Tralles, Colossæ, Laodicea, Hierapolis, Miletus, &c.—the πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν Ἀσίαν of Acts xix. 10. Compare ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Ἀσίας at the end of Cor. β. This is another note of Ephesian composition, and is far more appropriate to his surroundings there, than to the circumstances of the recent arrival in Macedonia, which called forth Cor. γ. τὰ παρεκτός must mean ‘things exceptional,’ and cannot be equivalent to τὰ ἔξω, unless indeed (which is quite unlikely) it is a local term, applied to the congregations of outlying districts, who looked to Ephesus as their metropolitan centre of guidance?
- xi. 32—xii. 2. The precise date and location (Damascus) ought to help us, but it is impossible to identify the incident. It falls by the date—14 years ago—within the seven years’

ἄνθρωπον,—εἴτε ἐν σώματι εἴτε χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος [οὐκ οἶδα,]
 4 ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν,—ὅτι ἡρπάγη εἰς τὸν παράδεισον καὶ ἤκουσεν ἄρρητα
 5 ῥήματα ἃ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἀνθρώπῳ λαλῆσαι. ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοιούτου καυχῆσομαι,
 6 ὑπὲρ δὲ ἑαυτοῦ οὐ καυχῆσομαι εἰ μὴ ἐν ταῖς ἀσθενείαις. ἐὰν
 γὰρ θελήσω καυχῆσασθαι, οὐκ ἔσομαι ἄφρων, ἀλήθειαν γὰρ ἐρῶ·
 7 φείδομαι δέ, μὴ τις εἰς ἐμὲ λογίσηται ὑπὲρ ὃ βλέπει με ἢ
 8 ἀκούει ἐξ ἐμοῦ, καὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ἀποκαλύψεων. διὸ ἵνα μὴ
 ὑπεραίρωμαι, ἐδόθη μοι σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί, ἄγγελος Σατανᾶ, ἵνα
 9 με κολαφίζῃ, ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι. ὑπὲρ τούτου τρίς τὸν κύριον
 10 παρεκάλεσα ἵνα ἀποστῇ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· καὶ εἶρηκέν μοι Ἀρκεῖ σοι ἡ χάρις
 μου· ἡ γὰρ δύναμις ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τελεῖται. ἥδιστα οὖν μᾶλλον
 καυχῆσομαι ἐν ταῖς ἀσθενείαις, ἵνα ἐπισκηνώσῃ ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ
 11 χριστοῦ. διὸ εὐδοκῶ ἐν ἀσθενείαις, ἐν ὕβρεσιν, ἐν ἀνάγκαις, ἐν
 διωγμοῖς καὶ στενοχωρίαις, ὑπὲρ χριστοῦ· ὅταν γὰρ ἀσθενῶ, τότε
 δυνατός εἰμι.

in the body or apart from the body I know not, God knoweth—that he was caught up into Paradise and heard words unspeakable, which it is not lawful for a man to utter. Of such an one I will boast, though of mine own self I will not boast, excepting in my weaknesses. For though I consent to boast, yet will I not be as a fool, for I will speak but truth. Nay, but I refrain—that none account of me more highly than that which he seeth in me or heareth from me, yes and for the exceeding greatness of the revelations. For which cause, that I should not be exalted overmuch, there was given unto me a thorn in the flesh, a messenger of Satan to buffet me, that I should not be exalted overmuch. For this thing I besought the Lord thrice, that it should be put away from me; and he hath said to me 'My grace sufficeth thee; for power is perfected in weakness.' Most gladly therefore will I choose rather to boast in my weaknesses, that the power of Christ may take up its abode upon me. Wherefore I am well content with weaknesses, insults, injuries, privations, persecutions and distresses, for the sake of Christ; for when I am weak, then am I strong.

residence at Tarsus, 37—44 A.D., and was an episode of the visit to Syria incidentally mentioned in Gal. i. 21. The incidents of the escape, and of the vision, seem to hang together in the Apostle's memories, but the clue to the association is not supplied. With this manifestation, compare the Corinthian vision recounted in Acts xviii. 9, 10.

xii. 11. ἄφρων. He adopts their own opprobrious epithet. See note on x. 1.

xii. 14. ἰδοὺ τρίτον τοῦτο ἐτοίμως ἔχω ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. [Om. τοῦτο Scrivener, Alford, &c., as inserted from xiii. 1, but all best mss. and edd. retain.] The τρίτον involves and proves an intermediate *second* visit, unrecorded in Acts. So Lightfoot, *Bibl. Essays*, p. 274, Plummer, &c.: Ramsay, *St Paul*, p. 275, merely says he sees no proof. The only way of evading the inference is to say that for 'the *third time* he was ready,' which is meaningless. When had he twice previously 'been ready'? Had that been sense, he would have used πάλιν or νῦν αὖθις or any such *general* phrase. One does not thus particularise intentions, as 2, 3 or 4, fulfilled or unfulfilled; still less (as many commentators) confound one actual visit, one intended but not carried out, and a third contemplated, as a group of three intended visits. The τρίτον is placed *first* as emphatic, but in sense goes with the ἐλθεῖν; postponement of ἐτοίμως ἔχω would be unnatural and forced, for θέλω, βούλομαι, &c. (and this too is a common colloquial phrase in Fayyum documents) habitually precede the verb.

The prospect of a third visit, with its inevitable implication of two already paid, is reaffirmed even more directly, and without ἐτοίμως ἔχω, in xiii. 1. The statement could not be clearer; and the παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον of xiii. 2 declares, as plainly as words can say it, that he had been at Corinth *twice*.

The sense is: See, yet a third time, once more, in spite of the reception I received, the mortification, the repulse, the contumely—and in spite too of the dangers encountered and

xii. II—18. γέγονα ἄφρων· ὑμεῖς με ἠναγκάσατε· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὥφειλον ὑφ' ὑμῶν συνίστασθαι. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑστέρησα τῶν ὑπερλίαν
 12 ἀποστόλων, εἰ καὶ οὐδέν εἰμι· τὰ μὲν σημεῖα τοῦ ἀποστόλου κατειργάσθη ἐν ὑμῖν ἐν πάσῃ ὑπομονῇ, σημείοις [τε] καὶ τέρασιν καὶ
 13 δυνάμεσιν. τί γάρ ἐστιν ὃ ἡσσώθητε ὑπὲρ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκκλησίας, εἰ μὴ ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὐ κατενάρκησα ὑμῶν; χαρίσασθέ μοι τὴν ἀδικίαν
 14 ταύτην. ἰδοὺ τρίτον τοῦτο ἐτοίμως ἔχω ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐ καταναρκήσω· οὐ γὰρ ζητῶ τὰ ὑμῶν ἀλλὰ ὑμᾶς, οὐ γὰρ ὀφείλει τὰ
 15 τέκνα τοῖς γονεῦσιν θησαυρίζειν, ἀλλὰ οἱ γονεῖς τοῖς τέκνοις. ἐγὼ δὲ ἥδιστα δαπανήσω καὶ ἐκδαπανηθήσομαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν. εἰ
 16 περισσοτέρως ὑμᾶς ἀγαπῶ, ἥσσον ἀγαπῶμαι; ἔστω δέ, ἐγὼ οὐ κατεβάρησα ὑμᾶς· ἀλλὰ ὑπάρχων πανοῦργος δόλῳ ὑμᾶς ἔλαβον. μή
 18 τινα ὦν ἀπέσταλκα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, δι' αὐτοῦ ἐπλεονέκτησα ὑμᾶς; παρεκάλεσα Τίτον καὶ συναπέστειλα τὸν ἀδελφόν· μήτι ἐπλεονέκτησεν ὑμᾶς Τίτος; οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι περιεπατήσαμεν; οὐ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἴχνεσιν;

There then—I have become a fool. Yourselfs compelled me. For it was my due to be commended by you: for in nothing did I come short of your most superfine Apostles, even though I am as nothing. The signs of an apostle were wrought out in your midst; in all manner of endurance, with signs and marvels and mighty works. In what single particular did ye come behind the rest of the churches, excepting that I myself was not a burden on you? Forgive me that wrong. See now, yet again a third time I am ready to come to you, and will lay no weight on any. For I seek not yours but you, and it is not the duty of the child to lay up treasure for the parent, but of the parents for the children. Most gladly will I spend and be outspent for the saving of your souls. If I love you beyond measure, am I therefore loved the less? But be it so that I did not myself cast any burden on you: yet of my craftiness, I caught you with guile. Of those whom I have sent unto you, was there any through whom I made gain out of you? I besought Titus to go, and sent the brother with him. Did Titus make gain out of you? did we not walk in the same spirit? in the same steps?

the renewal of risk involved—the shipwreck so fresh in memory, the privations, the cost (δαπανήσω καὶ ἐκδαπανηθήσομαι), I am ready to visit you again in person.

xii. 15. The δαπανήσω thinks definitely of the money difficulties and cost, as well as the outlay of strength, the strain of spirit, &c. The οὐ κατενάρκησα ὑμῶν of v. 13 refers to the deliberate policy adopted at Corinth (Acts xviii. 3, 1 Cor. iv. 12), just as at Thessalonica (cf. 1 Thes. ii. 9, 2 Thes. iii. 8) and at Ephesus (1 Cor. iv. 12), of supporting himself by his own handiwork, or of receiving subsidies only from extraneous churches (Phil. iv. 16, and 2 Cor. xi. 9 where κατενάρκησα is used in the same connexion), rather than of inflicting maintenance charges upon those to whom he was ministering. To this policy he is determined to adhere (καὶ οὐ καταναρκήσω), when he now revisits them, whatever the expense involved to himself.

xii. 16. ὑπάρχων πανοῦργος. The ἀλλὰ introduces the opprobrious term used by his opponents. It is still fresh in his memory, rankling there like the ταπεινός, the ἄφρων, the καυχᾶσθαι, the ἀσθενής. One more proof how he writes, hot-handed, over-wrought, sore still, and tingling with the smart of wounded affections.

The τινὰ ὧν ἀπέσταλκα implies that there were *several missions*, not that of Titus only.

xii. 17, 18. The ἀπέσταλκα might refer naturally to new envoys sent after his return to Ephesus. But the ἐπλεονέκτησα and ἐπλεονέκτησεν clearly refer to definite and known events in the past, not to something which was going on at the time, and on which he ventures to throw out a challenge; and the τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι περιεπατήσαμεν makes this still clearer. [From the whole spirit and tone of letter, there had been no time for Titus to go, and to return again and report to Paul: and the supposition would only multiply difficulties, as to his rejoining Titus in Macedonia.]

xii. 19—21. πάλαι δοκεῖτε ὅτι ὑμῖν ἀπολογούμεθα; κατέναντι
 θεοῦ ἐν χριστῷ λαλοῦμεν. τὰ δὲ πάντα, ἀγαπητοί, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν
 20 οἰκοδομῆς, φοβοῦμαι γὰρ μή πως ἐλθὼν οὐχ οἷους θέλω εὔρω ὑμᾶς,
 καὶ γὰρ εὐρεθῶ ὑμῖν οἶον οὐ θέλετε, μή πως ἔρις, ζῆλος, θυμοί, ἐριθίαι,
 21 καταλαλιαί, ψιθυρισμοί, φυσιώσεις, ἀκαταστασίαι· μή πάλιν ἐλθόντος
 μου ταπεινώσῃ με ὁ θεός μου πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ πενήθῃσω πολλοὺς τῶν
 προσημαρτηκότων καὶ μὴ μετανοησάντων ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ καὶ πορνείᾳ
 καὶ ἀσελγείᾳ ἣ ἔπραξαν.

Do you imagine all this time that we are standing upon our defence, exculpating ourselves to you? Not so—as in the presence of God we are speaking with you in Christ; in everything our one thought, beloved, has been your edification. For my fear is that if I come to you again, I shall find you other than I would, and you will find me other than ye would, that there may be strife, jealousy, heart-burnings, feuds, recriminations, whisperings, vapourings, disorders; and that once again when I come my God may humble me in my dealings towards you, and that I may have cause to grieve over many of those who cling to their old sins and repent not of the uncleanness and fornication and lasciviousness which they committed.

Thus there follows the important inference that Titus and his colleague had been sent to Corinth on one or more missions *prior to S. Paul's own second visit to Corinth*. Very likely it was his return and report that necessitated or prompted S. Paul's own visit, and if so, the οὐ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔχνεσι has a literal, as well as metaphorical, application. Thus it is not the mission referred to in ii. 13, vii. 6. 13; nor again that mentioned in viii. 6. 17. 18. 22. Observe that—*whether Chs. x—xiii are separable or not*—this cannot in any case be the mission referred to in viii, in spite of the remarkable parallelism in language παράκλησιν ἐδέξατο and συνεπέμψαμεν τὸν ἀδελφὸν v. 17, 18, for that mission is *still future and unaccomplished* as proved by v. 22—24. The coincidence in expression is fortuitous, and not unnatural in describing circumstances so closely parallel. On each occasion Titus had the support of a companion.

We must assume *three missions of Titus* at least, and with reasonable probability four, if we may regard him as the bearer of 1 Corinthians. These I enumerate and distinguish in the Note on *Missions of Titus* at the end of this section, p. 41—2.

- xii. 20. ἐλθὼν still contemplates the possibility of a renewed visit to Corinth, direct from Ephesus, under circumstances and in a frame of mind totally different from those depicted in Cor. γ. The rest of the verse, ἔρις, ζῆλος, ἐριθία, &c., pictures the impression left by his second visit, and the internal discords which he feared might still be rending and harassing the Church at Corinth. As personal phrases note particularly the φυσιώσεις, ἀκαταστασίαι, and contrast the final injunction and benediction, xiii. 11, 12, 14, invoking for them χάρις, ἀγάπη, κοινωνία.

ταπεινώσῃ the humiliation of seeing open and carnal sin approved, supported and upheld by his Corinthian converts, a thing indeed to mourn over and lament—πενθήσω. In the ταπεινώσῃ ὁ θεός I think there is an echo of the ταπεινός of x. 1, xi. 7. It seems best to take the πάλιν with ταπεινώσῃ

xiii. I—2. τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐπὶ στόματος δύο
 2 μαρτύρων καὶ τριῶν σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα. προείρηκα καὶ προλέγω ὡς
 παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἄπὼν νῦν τοῖς προσημαρτηκόσιν καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς
 πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἔὰν ἔλθω εἰς τὸ πάλιν οὐ φείσομαι,

Now for the third time I come unto you; and "In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established." I have told you before and I do hereby pronounce, now in absence just as then present with you for the second time, alike to them who cling to their old sins and to all others in like case, that if I come yet again, I will not spare:

rather than ἐλθόντος. The mortifications of the second visit will be again repeated.

The προσημαρτηκότων refers to the second visit. He would find the same offenders, still persisting, in their ἀκαθαρσία καὶ πορνεία καὶ ἀσελγεία. The word is repeated in xiii. 2.

xiii. 1. τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι. There has been a brief break. He takes up the pen again, with a yet stronger sense that it will be necessary for him to revisit Corinth again in person. The assumption of the second visit could not be put in clearer words. The second visit had been one of expostulation and reproach, and had ended in seeming failure and mortification. The third will be judicial: each charge shall be legally brought home, and visited unflinchingly.

xiii. 2. The εἰ ἔλθω (v. 2) shows that the resolution is not yet unalterably fixed, that he still cherishes hopes, which in the final words close in benediction.

xiii. 2. προ-είρηκα, namely at the second visit—and I now προ-λέγω say it *forth*—declare, pronounce it *openly*. The little play on the twofold sense of προ- is quite Pauline, comparable with the ἀναγινώσκω, ἐπιγινώσκω of 2 Cor. i. 13, γνωσκομένη καὶ ἀναγινωσκομένη iii. 2, ἀπορούμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξαπορούμενοι iv. 8, μηδὲν ἔχοντες καὶ πάντα κατέχοντες vi. 10, &c. προ-είρηκα, as in 2 Cor. vii. 3, Gal. i. 9, means always 'I have told you before,' or 'foretold' (cf. Matt. xxiv. 25, Mark xiii. 23), while προλέγω (as in the exactly parallel Gal. v. 21 ἃ προλέγω ὑμῖν, καθὼς προεῖπον) is 'I pronounce, declare,' and so too I incline to interpret προελέγομεν of 1 Thes. iii. 4. In Gal. i. 9 the simple πάλιν λέγω takes its place.

παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον is an unmistakeable reference to the second visit, 'when I was with you on my second visit'; the order and balance of words (for parallels to which 1 Cor. v. 3 and 2 Cor. x. 11 may be compared), παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον balancing ἀπὼν νῦν, make any other rendering intolerable. The E.V. προλέγω, ὡς παρὼν, τὸ δεύτερον 'I foretell you, as if I were present, the second time' is desperate; and the contrasted

xiii. 3—10. ἐπεὶ δοκιμὴν ζητεῖτε τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ λαλοῦντος χριστοῦ·
 4 ὃς εἰς ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀσθενεῖ ἀλλὰ δυνατεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ γὰρ ἐσταυρώθη ἐξ
 ἀσθενείας, ἀλλὰ ἤν ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀσθενούμεν ἐν
 5 αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ ζήσομεν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ [εἰς ὑμᾶς]. ἑαυτοὺς
 πειράζετε εἰ ἐστὲ ἐν τῇ πίστει, ἑαυτοὺς δοκιμάζετε· ἢ οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκετε
 6 ἑαυτοὺς ὅτι Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν; εἰ μὴτι ἀδόκιμοί ἐστε. ἐλπίζω
 7 δὲ ὅτι γνώσεσθε ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐσμὲν ἀδόκιμοι. εὐχόμεθα δὲ πρὸς τὸν
 θεὸν μὴ ποιῆσαι ὑμᾶς κακὸν μηδέν, οὐχ ἵνα ἡμεῖς δόκιμοι φανώμεν,
 8 ἀλλ' ἵνα ὑμεῖς τὸ καλὸν ποιῇτε, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὡς ἀδόκιμοι ὦμεν. οὐ γὰρ
 9 δυνάμεθά τι κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας. χαίρομεν
 γὰρ ὅταν ἡμεῖς ἀσθενῶμεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ δυνατοὶ ᾗτε· τοῦτο καὶ εὐχόμεθα,
 10 τὴν ὑμῶν κατάρτισιν. διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα ἀπὼν γράφω, ἵνα παρὼν μὴ
 ἀποτόμως χρήσωμαι κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἣν ὁ κύριος ἔδωκέν μοι, εἰς
 οἰκοδομὴν καὶ οὐκ εἰς καθαίρεσιν.

seeing that ye seek a proof that Christ speaks to you in me. He is not weak to you-ward, but is of power among you; for he was crucified indeed of weakness, but liveth of the power of God. For we too are weak in him, yet shall we live in him (to you-ward) by the power of God. Try your own selves, whether ye are indeed in the faith, put your own selves to the proof: do you not recognise of your own selves that Jesus Christ is within you? Unless indeed ye fail to meet that proof. My hope is that you will recognise that we do not fail when tested by that proof. And we pray to God that ye may do no evil, not in order that we may stand approved, but in order that ye may do that which is good, howsoever little we may stand approved. For we have no power at all against the truth, but for the truth. For we rejoice when we are weak, but ye are strong: yea this is the one thing we pray for, your perfecting. For this cause I write thus while absent, that when present I may not have to deal harshly, in exercise of that authority which the Lord committed to me, for building up and not for casting down.

ἀπὸν νῦν γράφω, as though an absent and written reiteration might prove more impressive, hopelessly feeble. Moreover no MS. of any weight supports the insertion of γράφω. These various shifts result from the 'contamination' of the two Epistles. The true sense is unaffected and straightforward. 'I have said my say; when with you in person I declared, what now, separated from you, I repeat in writing, that if I am forced to come again, I can neither relent nor spare.' The R.V. 'I do say beforehand, as when I was present the second time, so now, being absent' is clumsy, and misses the true sense of προλέγω, but at least adheres to the Greek.

- xiii. 2. εἰς τὸ πάλιν 'again' = 'a third time.' Referred to the preceding τὸ δεύτερον, the phrase is natural and proper. But if we regard Cor. 8 as written from Macedonia, the 'again' becomes irrelevant and out of place. For it associates the extension of his journey from Macedonia to Corinth with the visit of four years earlier, with which it is never brought into connexion. This was in no sense a repetition of the earlier visit. Moreover the ἐὰν ἔλθω is hopelessly inappropriate: the visit was in immediate prospect, a certainty not a possibility, and a visit of restored affection, trust and confidence (2 Cor. ii. 3, vii. 16, viii. 24, ix. 4).

The οὐ φείσομαι which follows is in flagrant and irreconcilable contradiction with the whole tenor of Chs. i.—ix. When once the correct order and relation of the letters is restored, the φειδόμενος ὑμῶν οὐκέτι ἦλθον of i. 23 ceases to be an embarrassing verbal contradiction, and becomes a courteous and happy revocation of the warnings here uttered. Here he says 'If I come, I will not spare,' there 'It was with the object of sparing, that I forbore to come,' referring *retrospectively* to his own word and motive. It reveals to us one at least of the final determinants in S. Paul's later movements.

- xiii. 3. Forbearance, it seems, has failed: only severity will give them the valid assurance, for which they ask, that the

- xiii. 11—13. λοιπόν, ἀδελφοί, χαίρετε, καταρτίζεσθε, παρακαλεῖσθε, τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖτε, εἰρηνεύετε, καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ
 12 εἰρήνης ἔσται μεθ' ὑμῶν. ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν ἁγίῳ φιλήματι. ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἅγιοι πάντες.
 13 ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ [Χριστοῦ] καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.

Finally, brethren, farewell; be perfected; give heed to exhortation; be of the same mind; keep peace; and the God of love and of peace shall be with you. Salute one another in the kiss of holiness. All of God's people here salute you.

The grace of the Lord Jesus, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all.

Apostle does indeed speak with authority, as the mouth-piece of Christ.

xiii. 10. παρών 'when I *do* come,' still with the expectation that he will very shortly follow in person, as in v. 2. Of course 'if I come' is possible.

xiii. 13. The form of benediction is noticeable. Like the parallel ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ of Gal. vi. 18, it is a final appeal for peace and reconciliation: the emphatic words are χάρις, ἀγάπη, κοινωνία, which are associated with the three ideas or embodiments of the Divine, to which they naturally belong. It is not a formally Trinitarian formula, as the order of the terms Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Θεοῦ, τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος helps to show.

To the typical Christian χάρις...Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ of Rom. xvi. 20, 1 Cor. xvi. 23, Gal. vi. 18, Eph. vi. 24, Phil. iv. 23, 1 Thes. v. 28, 2 Thes. iii. 18, &c., he adds the prayer for ἀγάπη (as in Eph. vi. 23) with its special significance for the Corinthian community, and for that fellowship in consecration on which all Christian unity depends. It is a closing prayer, and supreme appeal for reconciliation.

NOTE ON THE MISSIONS OF TITUS.

Fifty years ago, Lightfoot wrote an article entitled 'The Mission of Titus to Corinth,' republished in the volume of *Biblical Essays*. It still contains useful matter, but is vitiated by the assumption of a *single mission*, which introduces inextricable confusions. It is all-important to distinguish the three, or as I believe four, *different* missions, undertaken by Titus, which together give a vivid impression of the active correspondence maintained between S. Paul and the Church at Corinth. Titus throughout appears as the faithful lieutenant of S. Paul, especially in his dealings with Corinth. He had little independent place or position, and his name is not once mentioned in the record of the Acts. The following are the occasions on which he acted as the Apostle's deputy or messenger.

(1) At Easter, 54, as bearer of 1 Corinthians, he inaugurated the relief fund for the poor of Jerusalem. See note on προεκήρυξατο, 2 Cor. viii. 6. In 1 Cor. xvi. 1 it is designated as ἡ λογία ἡ εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους: in Acts xxiv. 17 as ἐλεημοσύναι καὶ προσφοραί; elsewhere by more descriptive terms—κοινωνία, λειτουργία, διακονία, χάρις, εὐλογία. In *Biblical Essays*, 281 pp., Lightfoot gives subsidiary considerations for regarding Titus as bearer of 1 Corinthians.

(2) The mission of 'Titus and the brother' referred to in 2 Cor. xii. 18. This may *possibly* be identical with the earlier mission, in which he acted as bearer of 1 Corinthians, and instituted the weekly collections. But the language does not at all suggest it, and the ἐπλεονέκτησεν would hardly have stood alone, without further hint or expansion, if it concerned a visit in which a money mandate formed part of the commission of Titus. This hypothetical mission might naturally fall in summer or autumn of 54 A.D. It is quite impossible on any showing to refer the ἐπλεονέκτησεν to the mission contemplated in 2 Cor. viii., for it manifestly refers to an actual past experience, and the commentators do not attempt any serious explanation, except on the assumption of some such visit as here suggested.

(3) Titus despatched by Paul from Ephesus, as bearer of the letter of rebuke (Cor. 8), with instructions to go to Corinth, and report to him with what speed he could, meeting him somewhere on his route from Ephesus to Macedonia (2 Cor. ii. 13).

Titus returned to Macedonia, and there (probably at Philippi), awaited the arrival of S. Paul (2 Cor. vii. 6) from Ephesus and Troas. The joy of reunion is described in 2 Cor. vii. 7, 13.

(4) Titus, after reporting to S. Paul in Macedonia, is commissioned to return to Corinth, to rehabilitate the collections for the poor of Jerusalem (2 Cor. viii. 6, 17, 18, 22). There were (2 Cor. viii. 19) associated with him on this occasion *two* colleagues, one elected by the Macedonian Churches [probably Sopater, Aristarchus, or Secundus, the three eventual representatives (Acts xx. 4)] and a second approved by S. Paul himself, as a man of deep and tried earnestness, and who had a firm belief in the response which the Corinthian Church would make.

§ III. EXAMINATION OF CORINTHIANS I.

Treated as an earlier and separate letter, the section with which we have just dealt, Cor. 8, must be assigned to the early part of the year, in which the Apostle finally left Ephesus for Macedonia. His departure was finally hurried by the outburst of excitement and persecution narrated in Acts xix, which we shall refer to the April festival of Artemis. From S. Luke (Acts xix. 21—2) we learn that the plan of journey was already decided, and that Timothy and Erastus had been despatched in advance, before the riot took place. But in Cor. 8, as we have seen, the choice of route was still uncertain; S. Paul wrote, hesitating between immediate and direct return to Corinth, or the allowance of an interval during which conviction and loyalty might return to their first love, and respond to this letter of passionate remonstrance and appeal. Thus the despatch of Cor. 8 immediately precedes the position set before us in Acts xix. 21—2. The minor details, which enforce or corroborate this conclusion, may be reserved till all the data are before us. For the present we proceed on this assumption, and submit Cor. 7 (that is, 2 Cor. i—ix) to careful scrutiny, with the same aim and methods which we have already applied to Cor. 8. We shall be on the watch for all direct or incidental references to Cor. 8, as the latest communication which, trembling between hopes and fears, quivering with affection yet stung with indignant disappointment, S. Paul had addressed to his Corinthian converts.

The letter reveals its own setting. He had passed from Ephesus to Troas; there he had hoped, but hoped in vain, for message or for messenger to relieve the strain of expectation. Finally he resumed the journey to Macedonia, and there at last

1. 1—2. Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ
καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ,
2 σὺν τοῖς ἁγίοις πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ· χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ
εἰρήνῃ ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

*Paul an apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God, and Timothy
our brother, to the Church of God in Corinth, with all the people of
God throughout all Achaia—Grace to you and peace from God our
Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.*

received through Titus the good news, for which his heart had been athirst. In the full tide of chastened yet joyous reassurance, he takes up his pen. The whole Epistle is from first to last a letter of *reconciliation*, full-hearted and unreserved, in which the writer's heart vibrates with the grateful joy of restored affection, and is sensitive for the avoidance of any word or phrase or sentiment that could reopen the healed wounds.

- i. 1. Timotheus is with him, conjoined in the salutation, a natural tribute to the close relations that had existed between him and the Christian community at Corinth. But there is no further trace of his active participation in the writing of the Epistle, and no hint that he had been recently among them, or had been, like Titus, the intermediary through whom S. Paul had received the assurance of their restored affection and loyalty. The argument from silence must always be treated with caution, but considering the object and the character of the whole Epistle, it is hardly credible that no reference should occur throughout to Timothy's report and assurances, if he had indeed been at Corinth since the despatch and reception of Cor. 8. The statement of Acts xix. 22 fully accords with this, and implies that Timothy (and Erastus) had journeyed direct from Ephesus to Macedonia, and there remained until rejoined by S. Paul following the same route.

On the projected visit of Timothy to Corinth, referred to in 1 Cor. xvi. 10, this salutation throws no light. If carried into effect, it took place more than a year previously, and prior to the whole train of events, which produced Cor. 8, upon which the whole of Cor. 7 hangs. It is not only natural, but inevitable, that there should be no reference to a visit, if such there was, with which the present Epistle has no concern. Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 276, assuming the unity of Cor. 7 and Cor. 8, and bringing both into close conjunction with Cor. 8, draws the inference that Timothy's projected visit to Corinth (1 Cor. xvi. 10) did not take effect

1. 3. εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως.

*Blessed is the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is
indeed the Father of mercies and the God of all comfort.*

but on the true construction of events it must be said that our Epistle creates no presumption either way.

The intimation of 1 Cor. xvi. 10 must be altogether dissociated from the journey recorded in Acts xix. 22.

- i. 1. ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ. The assertion of Apostolic prerogative, absent from the earliest Epistles, and somewhat less titular and peremptory in form in 1 Cor., and Rom., is appropriate and natural after the question of authority raised and claimed in Cor. 8—esp. 2 Cor. x. 13—18, xi. 5—10. 13. 23, xii. 11—13. It reaffirms the claims there made, and now conceded.

The χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη re-echo the closing χάρις εἰρήνη and ἀγάπη of 2 Cor. xiii. 11—14, but are the habitual Pauline form.

- i. 3. ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς. Throughout Cor. 7—in *marked contrast* to Cor. 8—runs the pervading note of tenderness, and in this Epistle it is based not on the needs and sufferings of his converts and sympathy with *their* distress, but on *S. Paul's* own deliverance from the furnace of afflictions, doubts and fears in which he had been plunged.

The παράκλησις is the comfort ministered by God to *his* *own* needs—ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς, ἧς παρακαλούμεθα αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ i. 4, περισσεύει ἡ παράκλησις ἡμῶν i. 6, and compare i. 8. The restitution of their affections is the crowning mercy vouchsafed by the πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν; so likewise will the assurance of his become to them. The shrinking from egoism, and the very delicacy with which he touches their part in the estrangement, combine to make the form of expression somewhat laboured and obscure. Expressed more fully, and with less reticence and delicacy, his thought is this. The pain and grief which I endured on your account drove me to God for comfort and support. He upheld me with his consolations. Through his sustaining mercies the very affliction has become in me a ministering power of

- i. 4.—12. ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν, εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖν τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ θλίψει διὰ τῆς παρακλήσεως 5 ἧς παρακαλούμεθα αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. ὅτι καθὼς περισσεύει τὰ παθήματα τοῦ χριστοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς, οὕτως διὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ περισσεύει καὶ 6 ἡ παράκλησις ἡμῶν. εἴτε δὲ θλιβόμεθα, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν παρακλήσεως καὶ σωτηρίας· εἴτε παρακαλούμεθα, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν παρακλήσεως τῆς ἐνεργουμένης ἐν ὑπομονῇ τῶν αὐτῶν παθημάτων ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς πάσχομεν, 7 καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς ἡμῶν βεβαία ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· εἰδότες ὅτι ὡς κοινωνοὶ ἐστε τῶν 8 παθημάτων, οὕτως καὶ τῆς παρακλήσεως. οὐ γὰρ θέλομεν ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, ὑπὲρ τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν τῆς γενομένης ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ὅτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἐβαρῆθημεν, ὥστε ἐξαπορηθῆναι 9 ἡμᾶς καὶ τοῦ ζῆν· ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τὸ ἀπόκριμα τοῦ θανάτου ἐσχέκαμεν, ἵνα μὴ πεποιθότες ὦμεν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ τῷ 10 ἐγείροντι τοὺς νεκρούς· ὃς ἐκ τηλικούτου θανάτου ἐρύσατο ἡμᾶς καὶ 11 ῥύσεται, εἰς ὃν ἠλπίκαμεν [ὅτι] καὶ ἔτι ῥύσεται, συννυπουργούντων καὶ ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῇ δεήσει, ἵνα ἐκ πολλῶν προσώπων τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς χάρισμα διὰ πολλῶν εὐχαριστηθῇ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. 12 ἡ γὰρ καύχησις ἡμῶν αὕτη ἐστίν, τὸ μαρτύριον τῆς συνειδήσεως ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἐν ἀγιότητι καὶ εὐλικρινείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, [καὶ] οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ σαρκικῇ ἀλλ' ἐν χάριτι θεοῦ, ἀνεστράφημεν ἐν τῇ κόσμῳ, περισσοτέρως δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς·

For he comforts us in every affliction that befalls; and by his comforting enables us to comfort each neighbour in affliction, if we will but comfort him in the same way as God comforts us. For as the sufferings of Christ proved in my own case an abundant source of consolation, so can I too through Christ administer to you like abundance of consolation.

* * * * *

v. 12. Our one ground for boasting, if any, is this—that our conscience bears us witness, that in all relations of life, and above all in all our relations with you, we have kept true to the voice of holiness and of sincerity towards God, and have walked not in the ways of worldly wisdom but in the grace of God.

comfort and consolation to yourselves. You too have felt something of the same pain and grief; and my own experience enables me to communicate the comfort and consolation, which God has so abundantly supplied to me. To you and to me alike it is a ministration of 'blessing on the falling out, which all the more endears.'

- i. 4. The note of *θλίψις* recurs i. 6. 8, ii. 4. 17, but is reminiscent in character, except in so far as the effects still last, iv. 17, an after-swell of storm. It refers to the anguish of spirit, caused and entailed by the revolt and estrangement of his Corinthian converts—Paul 'bruised of his brethren, broken from within.' For the time, it had broken his heart, producing an agitation, depression, despair, which had threatened complete physical collapse, and in Asia became a sickness that brought him to death's door (i. 8—10). Throughout it was mental and spiritual, and there is nothing in the language of the Epistle, or in the account of Acts, to connect it¹ with external persecutions or imprisonment inflicted at Ephesus, as the foretaste or outcome of the Demetrius riot recounted in Acts xix. Of all details of this period Luke in the Acts is completely silent, Acts xx. 1—2.

Past *θλίψεις* are referred to in vi. 4, while the *θλίψις* of his friends in Macedonia (viii. 2, and prob. vii. 4) refers to wholly different matters.

- i. 12. *ἡ καύχησις ἡμῶν*. *καύχησις* and *καύχημα* in Cor. γ have an apologetic note, and refer to the self-glorying—the uncongenial task of self-assertion and self-praise—forced on him when composing Cor. 8. It is a key-word of the earlier letter, wrung from him in x. 8. 13. 15. 16. 17, xi. 10. 12. 16. 17. 18. 30, xii. 1. 4. 5. 6. 9. In this Epistle all glorying in personal claims or services is set aside; the letter is a reaction from the unwelcome temper of rights, of claims, of authority, of reproof, to the satisfactions of reconciliation, the fruitions of

¹ So McGiffert, *Hist. of Christianity*, pp. 282—4.

- i. 13—16. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα γράφομεν ὑμῖν ἀλλ' ἢ ἃ ἀναγινώσκετε
 14 ἢ καὶ ἐπιγινώσκετε, ἐλπίζω δὲ ὅτι ἕως τέλους ἐπιγινώσεσθε, καθὼς καὶ
 ἐπέγνωτε ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ μέρους, ὅτι καύχημα ὑμῶν ἐσμὲν καθάπερ καὶ
 ὑμεῖς ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ.
 15 καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πεποιθήσει ἐβουλόμην πρότερον πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν,
 16 ἵνα δευτέραν χαρὰν σχῆτε, καὶ δι' ὑμῶν διελθεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, καὶ
 πάλιν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν προπεμφθῆναι
 εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν.

Every word we write to you, past, present and to come, has the single sense, which the ear receives and which the heart acknowledges, which I am confident your hearts will acknowledge to the end, just as in the present issue you have acknowledged, that we are your boast no less than you are and will be ours, in the day of our Lord Jesus.

Such was my confidence, when I wished in the first place to travel direct to Corinth, thus giving you the twofold pleasure of a passing visit on my way to Macedonia, and of a second visit on my way back from Macedonia, making Corinth my route of departure for Judaea.

friendship, the understandings of confidence and love. For himself his one boast is sincerity; above all, sincerity of relation to themselves (i. 12); apart from that the one thought of glorying is that they could find some cause of glorying in him, as he abundantly in them (i. 14, v. 12, vii. 4, 14, viii. 24, ix. 2, 3). The whole of this is sacrificed and unsaid if Cor. 8 is read as a continuation and part of Cor. 7; and the end miserably stultifies the beginning.

- i. 13. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα γράφομεν ὑμῖν ἀλλ' ἤ.... The sense needs some enlargement. Believe me there are no reserves, no *arrières-pensées* in my mind; my one thought of you is one of pride glorying in your single-hearted sincerity and loyalty. No other language comes to lip or pen, than that which now meets your eye, that which I am thankful to be assured (sc. by Titus) you yourselves too now recognise and understand as the one language of my heart, now and as I hope for ever; *in part* you did so recognise and understand even before Titus delivered my message of reproach, but now together we unite in the common pride that we feel each for the other, you for me and I for you, here and hereafter.

Thus Cor. 8, and the key-word *καύχῃσις*—*καύχημα*, give the clues, without which the whole becomes unintelligible. The οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα γράφομεν and the ἀναγιγνώσκειτε refer directly to Cor. 8, now in their possession, as well as to the present letter. He has nothing to unsay; for they can now read and understand aright.

- i. 15. The circumstances and occasion must be separated altogether from that handled in 1 Cor. xvi. 5—6, written as we shall find a year or more earlier. Though the main design had been adhered to, and is indeed in course of execution, the details and the outlook both had changed. The attempt at identification involves inconsistencies, and even insincerities of statement. See Kennedy, p. 38 ff.
- i. 15. ἐβουλόμην πρότερον πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν namely, when writing Cor. 8. There, as may be read in xii. 14 and xiii. 1, 10,

i. 17—22. τοῦτο οὖν βουλόμενος μήτι ἄρα τῇ ἐλαφρίᾳ ἐχρησά-
 μην; ἢ ἂ βουλευόμεαι κατὰ σάρκα βουλευόμεαι, ἵνα ἢ παρ' ἐμοὶ τό Ναί
 ναὶ καὶ τό Οὐ οὐ; πιστὸς δὲ ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ὁ λόγος ἡμῶν ὁ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκ
 18 ἔστιν Ναί καὶ Οὐ· ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ γὰρ υἱὸς Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἐν ὑμῖν δι'
 19 ἡμῶν κηρυχθεὶς, δι' ἐμοῦ καὶ Σιλουανοῦ καὶ Τιμοθέου, οὐκ ἐγένετο Ναί
 καὶ Οὐ, ἀλλὰ Ναί ἐν αὐτῷ γέγονεν· ὅσαι γὰρ ἐπαγγελίαι θεοῦ, ἐν αὐτῷ
 20 τό Ναί· διὸ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τό Ἀμήν τῷ θεῷ πρὸς δόξαν δι' ἡμῶν. ὁ δὲ
 21 βεβαιῶν ἡμᾶς σὺν ὑμῖν εἰς χριστὸν καὶ χρίσας ἡμᾶς θεός, [ὁ] καὶ
 22 σφραγισάμενος ἡμᾶς καὶ δοὺς τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ταῖς
 καρδίαις ἡμῶν.

In departing from this wish can I be charged with caprice or fickleness? In making my plans am I actuated by worldly and unspiritual motives, that leave me at liberty to change the most solemn Yes to an equally positive No? Not so: truth is of binding obligation before God. My motive was not fickleness, but Christian regard for you.

* * * * *

his impulse and desire had been to visit them once more and put all to the hazard. The tense (which is not an *epistolary* past, as the following clause *τοῦτο βουλόμενος... μήτι ἐχρησάμην* plainly shows) stands in contradiction with xii. 14, xiii. 1, if regarded as part of *the same letter*; but with Cor. γ *as sequel* to Cor. δ it falls perfectly into place.

The *πρότερον* is usually taken with *ἐβουλόμην*, and understood to mean that previously his wish had been to go *via Corinth* to Macedonia, and then back to winter with them. This is admissible; for now his mind is at rest: he is content to acquiesce in the delay, and to interpose the visit to Macedonia before the reunion, to which he is looking forward. But the order of the words and the expression naturally, if not inevitably, associates the word with *ἐλθεῖν*, 'I *wanted first* to go to you, that you might have the double benefit or pleasure, first of my passing through Corinth to Macedonia, and then of my returning to you *en route* for Judæa.' The *δευτέραν* has no bearing at all on the number of previous visits; it refers only to the prospect (voluntarily relinquished) of visiting Corinth both on going to and returning from Macedonia.

ἵφ' ὑμῶν προπεμφθῆναι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, by joining a pilgrim ship—the natural plan—direct from Corinth to Jerusalem, just as in Acts xviii. 21. This was, as we know, S. Paul's actual plan (Acts xx. 3), though subsequently abandoned owing to the machinations of his enemies.

i. 19. Timothy. The reference is to the *earliest* visit, in which Timothy, after first remaining behind in Berea and Thessalonica, rejoined Paul and Silvanus for the work of evangelising Corinth, and is associated with them as their fellow-worker both in 1 and 2 Thes.

i. 17—23. He deals apologetically with his change of plan, when leaving Ephesus, explaining that it was not due to fickleness or carelessness of purpose. It was dictated by

i. 23—24. ἐγὼ δὲ μάρτυρα τὸν θεὸν ἐπικαλοῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν
 24 ψυχὴν, ὅτι φειδόμενος ὑμῶν οὐκέτι ἦλθον εἰς Κόρινθον. οὐχ ὅτι
 κυριεύομεν ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως, ἀλλὰ συνεργοί ἐσμεν τῆς χαρᾶς ὑμῶν, τῇ
 γὰρ πίστει ἐστήκατε.

*Hereby I solemnly call God to witness on my soul, that it was
 to spare you that I finally gave up the visit to Corinth. The word
 'spare,' be sure, implies no claim to domineer over your faith, but
 only the desire to share in and assist your joy. For by faith ye
 stand. [Faith is a personal, not a dictated assurance and
 possession.]*

spiritual considerations. His animating motive was Christian love for them. The instinct of affection drew him to go; the need for severity, reluctance to rebuke, and fear of deeper estrangements held him back. Finally the wish '*to spare them*' prevailed over the impulse to see them at once, and he decided to journey the other way. The *φειδόμενος* is thus an *express reference* to the *οὐ φείσομαι* of xiii. 2. There he warned them that if a visit was necessary he *could not spare*; here that to avoid the pain and in order to spare them, he had foregone the visit. Read as part of the *same* letter it loses all natural connexion, and involves a complete change of attitude. The use of the 1st person singular is noticeable, followed immediately by the plural. It is necessary of a time and act in which Timothy was not associated with him.

- i. 23. The *οὐκέτι ἦλθον* = 'I gave up my intention of coming,' the same in sense as ii. 1. It is needless and wrong to suppose that it excludes any visit subsequent to the first.
- i. 24. *κυριεύομεν*. Here is the same anxious, almost nervous, desire not to presume or to domineer, which is so prominent throughout viii and ix, and which is in such contrast with x—xiii.
- ii. 1. In the following verses, as again in vii. 8—11, *λύπη* and *λυπεῖν* become key-words. The expression—'the pain' given and felt—had no doubt been used in the letter or report which Paul received from Titus. It was their own word, and he reverts to it again and again, including the pain first inflicted on himself, the pain which he felt in writing, and the pain which they felt on receiving what was written. No word could better describe his own feeling or theirs, under the trial of estrangement, and there is human delicacy in describing the wounded feelings on both sides by one and the same word.
- ii. 1, 2. I decided not to expose myself and you to the renewed pain of acrimonious controversies, of rebukes met by

ii. I—3. ἔκρινα γὰρ ἑμαυτῷ τοῦτο, τὸ μὴ πάλιν ἐν λύπῃ πρὸς
 2 ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν· εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ λυπῶ ὑμᾶς, καὶ τίς ὁ εὐφραίνων με εἰ μὴ ὁ
 3 λυπούμενος ἐξ ἐμοῦ; καὶ ἔγραψα τοῦτο αἰτὸν ἵνα μὴ ἐλθὼν λύπην σχῶ
 ἀφ' ὧν ἔδει με χαίρειν, πεποιθὼς ἐπὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς ὅτι ἡ ἐμὴ χαρὰ
 πάντων ὑμῶν ἐστίν.

For I determined with myself, not to visit you again in pain; for if I give you pain, of whom can I receive cheer except from the very one on whom I am inflicting pain? And I wrote what I did, for fear that otherwise when I came I might be put to pain by those from whom I had the right to look for joy, assured as I am concerning all of you, that my joy is likewise your joy.

defiances and disclaimers. That could only hurt us both, wounding you, and destroying all the springs of joy, hope, missionary power and confidence, in myself. There is considerable emphasis on the ἐμαντῶ 'for *myself*' as compared with the messenger (Titus), to whom the letter of protest had been confided.

The πάλιν ἐν λύπῃ is one more proof of the second visit, undertaken from Ephesus. It is impossible to describe the first long residence, the most prolonged, brilliant and unchequered of S. Paul's missionary successes, as 'a visit of pain'; nor is it legitimate to interpret the words as meaning that he shrank from revisiting them—this time *as contrasted with* the first visit—in pain. For that sense the ἐν λύπῃ could not have been interposed between πάλιν and ἐλθεῖν.

- ii. 3. ἔγραψα τοῦτο αὐτό. The words, though vexed by commentators, are perfectly straightforward, when referred to Cor. 8.

(1) The τοῦτο αὐτό cannot = εἰς τοῦτο αὐτό 'for that very purpose.' S. Paul would have used the fuller phrase, as in Rom. ix. 17. The idiom would certainly not be thus brought into immediate contiguity with a transitive verb, and if it were, must inevitably come *first* in the sentence (as Attic ταῦτα), not *after* the ἔγραψα. Cf., though by no means a strict parallel, 2 Pet. i. 5, which is more really like the αὐτό τοῦτο of 2 Cor. vii. 11. The εἰς τοῦτο ἔγραψα just below, v. 9, is a further proof of this, if proof is needed.

(2) ἔγραψα is not here an epistolary aorist. Against this S. Paul's usage is strong, as Plummer shows, as regards ἔγραψα in particular. And it is further proved by the identical ἔγραψα of the next verse, which refers to a θλίψις καὶ συνοχή *past*, not present. Similarly in vii. 12.

(3) ἔγραψα then = *I wrote*. 'I wrote what I did.' And the reference is not to the immediately preceding phrases—but to the painful letter (*i.e.* Cor. 8), which is here as throughout uppermost in his thoughts. I wrote as I did, with the

ii. 4—5. ἐκ γὰρ πολλῆς θλίψεως καὶ συνοχῆς καρδίας ἔγραψα
 ὑμῖν διὰ πολλῶν δακρύων, οὐχ ἵνα λυπηθῇτε, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀγάπην ἵνα
 5 γνῶτε ἣν ἔχω περισσοτέρως εἰς ὑμᾶς. εἰ δέ τις λελύπηκεν, οὐκ ἐμὲ
 λελύπηκεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ μέρους ἵνα μὴ ἐπιβαρῶ πάντας ὑμᾶς.

For out of deep affliction and anguish of spirit I wrote, and steeped in tears, not in order to cause pain, but to make you aware of the abundance of the love which I have towards you. And if one has inflicted pain, it is not on me that he has inflicted it, but in a measure—for I do not wish to aggravate the offence—on all of you.

express object of preventing pain, to wit the pain of renewed altercation when we met—ἐλθὼν = 'when I came'—the pain of *personal controversy* and disagreement instead of mutual comfort and support, and I did so building confidently upon the spirit, in which you would receive my rebuke. I intended it, and counted upon it as a *redintegratio amoris*. Note the emphasis on τὴν ἀγάπην. I wrote it with a breaking heart, not to wound and to hurt, but as a vindication and assurance of my unalterable love for you all. It is the very spirit and claim alleged in xiii. 10—and as referred to that, makes the whole passage plain.

- ii. 4. ἐκ πολλῆς θλίψεως καὶ συνοχῆς καρδίας ἔγραψα ὑμῖν διὰ πολλῶν δακρύων. Apart from foregone conclusions, which wrest the evidence to their own support, it is quite impossible to describe 1 Cor. as an epistle written 'in affliction' and 'anguish of heart' and 'steeped in tears.' It contains severe rebukes or warnings, on backslidings which doubtless caused the Apostle pain; there are clouds upon the horizon of his larger hopes, his corporate ideals and aspirations; but there is nothing which cuts into the quick of personal affections, or throbs with keen emotional distress; on the contrary the letter is full of anxious but untroubled confidence, and in the main is jubilantly hopeful. On the other hand the words well describe 2 Cor. x—xiii, the most intense and passionate fragment which S. Paul has left, written with a bleeding heart. Nothing else in his Epistles, not even Galatians, answers to the description.

The plain truth is that prior to Chap. viii, Cor. γ does not contain a single reference to Cor. β, for the simple reason that Cor. δ has intervened and fills the field.

- ii. 5 *vv.* If pain has been given (as indeed it has), it is no question of a personal sense of injury, of any pain rankling between you and me, but of a pain inflicted—in greater or less degree—upon the Church at large, the pain of wounded honour and trust. You have cleared yourselves of all com-

ii. 6—8. ἱκανὸν τῷ τοιούτῳ ἡ ἐπιτιμία αὕτη ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πλειόνων,
 7 ὥστε τοῦναντίον ὑμᾶς χαρίσασθαι καὶ παρακαλέσαι, μή πως τῇ
 8 περισσοτέρᾳ λύπῃ καταποθῇ ὁ τοιοῦτος. διὸ παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς κυρῶσαι
 εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην·

Enough for such an one that act of censure, which had the support of the majority ; now on the other hand you have to show grace and to encourage, that he may not be swallowed up with excess of pain and sorrow. I beseech you therefore to reinstate him in your love.

plicity; you have disowned all share in it; you have administered the requisite rebuke. It is time now to forgive and forget; to restore the offender to self-respect and brotherhood; to re-affirm and ratify your love. The one object of my writing was to put you to the proof, to make sure of your obedience: and that object has been fully secured. My forgiveness—if indeed I had any call to forgive—is as complete as yours; forgive, as you are forgiven, was Christ's word to all. I have thus paraphrased at length, to make it clear that there is no reference to the case of incest handled in 1 Cor. v, but that the offence had been a personal belittling of S. Paul, which had led to the temporary estrangement and disaffection. The offender is described in vii. 12 as τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος 'him who did the wrong,' and has already been introduced to us in 2 Cor. x. 10—11 (where see note), while the one wronged (ὁ ἀδικηθείς) is of course S. Paul himself. The passing personal question was never of account, and for it no satisfaction is claimed or needed. The impersonal τὸς has the same chivalry as the ὁ ἀδικήσας there.

- ii. 6. ἡ ἐπιτιμία αὕτη ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν πλειόνων. This is the ἐκδίκησις referred to in vii. 11. It is quite clear that the censure or penalty imposed was formal; after due notice and discussion it was carried by a majority of the ἐκκλησία. We are not told what the alternative τίμησις was—whether for mitigation of the penalty, or proposing some still severer sentence. There would naturally be advocates for both these courses; S. Paul's words rather suggest that the minority had pressed for still severer disciplines. The censure actually carried he says 'is *plenty*' (ἱκανόν)—do not think of pressing for more.

It is to be noted how much more appropriate the language and tone are to an offence recently committed, and for which S. Paul had *just learned* that full satisfaction has been made, than if referred to a moral delinquency dealt

10 ii. 9—I7. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἔγραψα ἵνα γνῶ τὴν δοκιμὴν ὑμῶν,
 11 εἰ εἰς πάντα ὑπήκοοί ἐστε. ᾧ δέ τι χαρίζεσθε, καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ὃ
 12 κεχάρισμαι, εἴ τι κεχάρισμαι, δι' ὑμᾶς ἐν προσώπῳ χριστοῦ, ἵνα μὴ
 13 πλεονεκτηθῶμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ, οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ νοήματα ἀγνοοῦμεν.
 14 ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ χριστοῦ, καὶ θύρας μοι
 15 ἀνεψφμένῃς ἐν κυρίῳ, οὐκ ἔσχηκα ἄνεσιν τῷ πνεύματί μου τῷ μὴ εὐρεῖν
 16 με Τίτον τὸν ἀδελφόν μου, ἀλλὰ ἀποταξάμενος αὐτοῖς ἐξῆλθον εἰς
 17 Μακεδονίαν. τῷ δὲ θεῷ χάρις τῷ πάντοτε θριαμβεύοντι ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ
 18 χριστῷ καὶ τὴν ὁσμὴν τῆς γνώσεως αὐτοῦ φανεροῦντι δι' ἡμῶν ἐν
 19 παντὶ τόπῳ· ὅτι χριστοῦ εὐωδία ἐσμὲν τῷ θεῷ ἐν τοῖς σωζομένοις καὶ
 20 ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις, οἷς μὲν ὁσμὴ ἐκ θανάτου εἰς θάνατον, οἷς δὲ
 21 ὁσμὴ ἐκ ζωῆς εἰς ζωήν. καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τίς ἱκανός; οὐ γάρ ἐσμεν ὡς
 οἱ πολλοὶ καπηλεύοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξ εἰλικρινίας,
 ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ κατέναντι θεοῦ ἐν χριστῷ λαλοῦμεν.

My one object in writing, was to put you to the proof, and to see whether I could in all things count upon your obedience. To whom do you extend your grace, I mine. Any grace which I have shown, if any there has been to show, has been for your sakes in the person of Christ (sc. as representing Christ), that Satan may not get an advantage over us; for we are not ignorant of his devices. But from the time when I came into the Troad to preach the gospel there, even though I found there a door opened for me by the Lord, I have had no rest in my spirit from not finding there Titus my brother, but bidding them farewell I passed on into Macedonia. Thanks be to God who ever leadeth us in his train of triumph in Christ, and who everywhere makes manifest through us the sweet savour of the knowledge of Him: for we are made unto him a sweet fragrance of Christ, both among them that are saved and them that perish, to the one a savour of death exhaling death, to the other a savour of life exhaling life. And for these things, who is sufficient? For we are not like so many who make merchandise of the word of God, but as of sincerity and as of God before the presence of God we utter our message in Christ.

with something like two years before. Nor again are *χαρίσασθαι* and *παρακαλέσαι* the words one would expect of a flagrant moral offender restored to Church membership. Above all it is hard to understand how the words *οὐκ ἐμέ λελύπηκεν* could be appropriately used of the offence supposed.

- ii. 9. The *ἐγγραφα* refers explicitly to Cor. 8, with its call to obedience x. 6, 11 &c. With the *δοκιμήν* compare *δοκιμήν* of xiii. 3.
- ii. 12. He tells them what passed after his despatch of the letter of rebuke. He had remained for a time at Ephesus, and had then set out for Macedonia. On arriving at Troas, he had hoped that he might there meet Titus, who had clearly been the bearer of the letter of rebuke. This would imply some interval of time, the more so that Titus evidently knew of his intention to leave Ephesus for the north. Titus might either have taken ship to Thessalonica, or to the Hellespont. Probably there was some delay at Corinth—the reception and consideration of the letter, and after that the formal *ἐπιτιμία* of the chief offender would have occupied some time—and Titus fearing that he might miss S. Paul at Troas, or perhaps for other reasons, the chartering of a ship or the like, had elected to go by Thessalonica, and await S. Paul at Neapolis or Philippi. The time available for the entire journey—see *Chronological Synopsis*—is three or four months. Titus could not reckon upon S. Paul's detention at Troas, and S. Paul clearly stayed there for some little while, attracted by openings for evangelistic work which he had not foreseen; but finally made up his mind to wait no longer, but to push on to Macedonia.
- ii. 14—17. For a moment he digresses into a fervent acknowledgment of God's continual and abounding mercies in the blessings showered upon his missionary efforts, but checks himself, as though such acknowledgments might seem a form

iii. 1—2. ἀρχόμεθα πάλιν ἑαυτοὺς συνιστάνειν; ἢ μὴ χρῆζομεν
 2 ὥς τινες συστατικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἢ ἐξ ὑμῶν; ἢ ἐπιστολὴ ἡμῶν
 ὑμεῖς ἐστέ, ἐνγεγραμμένη ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, γινωσκομένη καὶ
 ἀναγινωσκομένη ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων.

Are we beginning once again to 'commend ourselves'? or have we need, as have some, of commendatory letters either to you or from you? Ye are our letter, graven in our hearts, recognised and read of all men.

of self-commendation; and passes thence to contemplation of the transcendent glories of the Christian dispensation, and the privileges of those to whom it is confided.

In the οἱ πολλοὶ καπηλεύοντες he reverts for a moment to the mercenary teachers at Corinth, but checks himself sharply with ἀρχόμεθα πάλιν.

iii. 1. ἀρχόμεθα πάλιν ἑαυτοὺς συνιστάνειν; This is an express and unmistakeable reference to the τῶν ἑαυτοὺς συνιστανόντων of x. 12 and ὑφ' ὑμῶν συνίστασθαι of xii. 11, as well as to the whole tenor of xi. 16—xii. 13, and the like. The πάλιν manifestly refers to something recent, something present to the minds of writer and readers alike. Reference to supposed passages of self-commendation (such as iii. 10, xiv. 18 and other still less relevant instances) in 1 Cor. is forced and unnatural, and in that Epistle the phrase συνιστάνειν nowhere occurs. If we assume for a moment the unity of 2 Corinthians, how is it possible to suppose that S. Paul could have left the phrase standing in such glaring and verbal contradiction to the language and contents of Chapters x—xiii? Neither can such correspondences be unforeseen and accidental discords. Read *as a reference* to Cor. 8, the πάλιν and the ἑαυτοὺς συνιστάνειν at once assume their rightful place. The phrase recurs, in the digression to which it gives rise, iv. 2, and is resumed in v. 12, vi. 4.

iii. 1. The reference to συστατικῶν ἐπιστολῶν, though it refers to past assailants, has no touch of polemical bitterness. It is merely used to bring out his point ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡμῶν ὑμεῖς ἐστε. It may be observed in passing that εἰ μὴ read by AKL 'seeing that we need not' would give excellent sense, yet might easily have been displaced by the more obvious and rhetorical ἢ.

iv. 7—18. Physical and spiritual inextricably intertwine—the 'life in death' which he had so recently experienced in the body with the ever-present 'life in death' by which the soul

iv. 7. ἔχομεν δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦτον ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν.

v. 1—4. οἶδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι ἐὰν ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους καταλυθῇ, οἰκοδομῇ ἐκ θεοῦ ἔχομεν οἰκίαν ἀχειροποιήτον αἰώνιον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ στενάζομεν, τὸ οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπενδύσασθαι ἐπιποθοῦντες, εἴ γε καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι οὐ γυμνοὶ εὐρέθησόμεθα. καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄντες ἐν τῷ σκηνί στενάζομεν βαρούμενοι.

v. 12. οὐ πάλιν ἑαυτοὺς συνιστάνομεν ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀφορμὴν διδόντες ὑμῖν καυχήματος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἵνα ἔχητε πρὸς τοὺς ἐν προσώπῳ καυχωμένους καὶ μὴ ἐν καρδίᾳ.

vii. 5—6. καὶ γὰρ ἐλθόντων ἡμῶν εἰς Μακεδονίαν οὐδεμίαν ἔσχηκεν ἄνεσιν ἡ σὰρξ ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ θλιβόμενοι—ἔξωθεν μάχαι, 6 ἔσωθεν φόβοι. ἀλλ' ὁ παρακαλῶν τοὺς ταπεινοὺς παρεκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ Τίτου.

For even since our coming into Macedonia there has been no alleviation of the physical strain—but a constant pressure of afflictions, contentions without and fears within. But God, who comforteth the downcast, comforted us with the presence of Titus.

is continually born again into the life risen with Christ. He thus expands upon the spiritual side the experiences of i. 8—10, ii. 14—17. The brittleness of life is admirably given by the *δοσπρακίνα σκεύη* of iv. 7—‘my strength is dried up like a potsherd’ of Ps. xxii. 15—its transitoriness and flimsiness by the figure of the tent v. 1—4:

‘this batter’d Caravanserai

Whose portals are eternal night and day.’

‘Tis but a tent where takes his one day’s rest

A Sultán to the realm of Death address.’

v. 12. οὐ πάλιν ἑαυτοὺς συνιστάνομεν. Again the πάλιν, as in iii. 1, reinforced by the *καυχήματος* and *καυχωμένων*, on which see note on i. 12. The one admissible ‘self-com-mendation’ is ‘service’ (vi. 4).

vi. 4—6. The catalogue of ‘endurances’—note the repeated *πληγαῖς*, *φυλακαῖς*, *κόποις*, *ἀγρυπνίαις*, *νηστείαις*—is a vivid reminiscence of 2 Cor. xii. 26, 27. In the same way οὐδένα ἐπλεονεκτήσαμεν, vii. 2, recurs to xii. 17, 18.

vi. 14—vii. 1 is a curiously gratuitous parenthesis, which some commentators are inclined to treat as an interpolation from some other quarter. Plummer’s defence is judicious, but unconvincing. It interrupts all natural connexion between vi. 13 and vii. 5.

vii. 5. ἐλθόντων ἡμῶν εἰς Μακεδονίαν. He resumes the account of his movements. Still downcast (*ταπεινούς* v. 6) in heart with inward doubts, fears, hopes, he at length passed on to Macedonia—and we may fairly assume—Philippi. It was *the first town*, after the port of debarkation; it is certain that Titus would have gone that far, to watch for his ship. It was the centre of his Macedonian affections. And it became the appointed rendezvous for the various delegates, who a few months later gathered there by appointment.

vii. 6. ὁ παρακαλῶν τοὺς ταπεινούς, though derived from Isaiah, echoes x. 1, xi. 7.

vii. 7—II. οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ παρακλήσει ἢ παρεκλήθῃ ἐφ' ὑμῖν, ἀναγγέλλων ἡμῖν τὴν ὑμῶν ἐπιπόθησιν, τὸν ὑμῶν ὀδυρμόν, τὸν ὑμῶν ζῆλον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ὥστε με μᾶλλον 8 χαρῆναι. ὅτι εἰ καὶ ἐλύπησα ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, οὐ μεταμέλομαι· εἰ καὶ μετεμελόμην, (βλέπω ὅτι ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐκείνη εἰ καὶ πρὸς ὥραν 9 ἐλύπησεν ὑμᾶς,) νῦν χαίρω, οὐχ ὅτι ἐλυπήθητε, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐλυπήθητε εἰς μετάνοιαν, ἐλυπήθητε γὰρ κατὰ θεόν, ἵνα ἐν μηδενὶ ζημιωθῇτε ἐξ ἡμῶν· 10 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν λύπη μετάνοιαν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀμεταμέλητον ἐργάζεται· 11 ἡ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου λύπη θάνατον κατεργάζεται. ἰδοὺ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ κατὰ θεὸν λυπηθῆναι πόσῃν κατειργάσατο ὑμῖν σπουδὴν, ἀλλὰ ἀπολογίαν, ἀλλὰ ἀγανάκτησιν, ἀλλὰ φόβον, ἀλλὰ ἐπιπόθησιν, ἀλλὰ ζῆλον, ἀλλὰ ἐκδίκησιν· ἐν παντὶ συνεστήσατε ἑαυτοὺς ἄγνους εἶναι τῷ πράγματι.

And not only with his personal presence, but with the further comfort gained from that comfort which your bearing had bestowed on him, as he made report to us of your longing for our presence, your self-reproaches, your jealousy on my behalf—all adding to my joy. For even though I pained you by my letter, I do not regret it; even though for a time I felt regrets, for I see that that same letter did, for a season, give you pain; but now I rejoice, not that you were pained, but that the pain wrought unto repentance; for ye were pained after a godly sort, that all we did might be for your advantage. For pain approved of God begets repentance, a repentance leading on unto salvation that knows no regrets; but pain of the worldly order produces death. See how much it has done for you, this pain approved of God! what an access of earnestness it produced in you, what pleas of exculpation, what indignation, what fear, what longing for my presence, what zeal, what claiming of redress! At every point you cleared yourselves of blemish in the matter.

- vii. 7. There the joyous news awaited him. Titus was already there, overflowing with (vii. 13) the good news of his reception at Corinth, his heart warmed (vii. 15) with their enthusiastic affection and veneration for S. Paul, and brought him the delicious assurance of the repentance, the regrets, the deep personal affection of his Corinthian converts. It had effected more than all S. Paul had hoped. The pain was as nothing to the gain. His Corinthians had more than justified his hopes, his pride (vii. 14), his confidence in them.
- vii. 8. *τῇ ἐπιστολῇ* of course refers to Cor. 8. How vain to refer this and still more the language of *v. 11*, to Cor. β. Consider the parenthesis *εἰ καὶ μετεμελόμην*. Is it conceivable, that even by way of momentary exaggeration, he should speak of regretting that he had composed and sent it? It contains indeed a few severe, outspoken phrases, which might perhaps have been more judiciously turned otherwise: but their very frankness is throughout that of privileged friendship, which expresses itself without the least fear or misgiving of offence. It could never, even in retrospect, occur to him to repent of having written it! It may be said that it is a strong expression to use even of Cor. 8; yet certainly not too strong, considering the agonies of spirit it had cost him, and not too strong for the vehemence and impetuosity of phrase so characteristic of the Paul who a few months later wrote *ἡὺχόμεν γὰρ ἀνάθεμα εἶναι αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου*, Rom. ix. 3. And further we must remember that we have not the letter in its entirety. Are not the very passages and phrases, which he most repented, those which have disappeared? S. Paul went back to Corinth, with the thought of them still present to his heart. May not he himself have been responsible for their excision? But on this there will be more to say later.
- vii. 11. *ἀγνοῦς*. Some have laid stress on the word, as showing that 'the case of incest' was here, as elsewhere, still in his mind. But the *πάρθενον ἀγνήν* of 2 Cor. xi. 2 is an apposite

vii. 12—16. ἄρα εἰ καὶ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν, οὐχ ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος, [ἀλλ'] οὐδὲ ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος, ἀλλ' ἕνεκεν τοῦ φανερωθῆναι τὴν
 13 σπουδὴν ὑμῶν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. διὰ τοῦτο παρακεκλήμεθα. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ παρακλήσει ἡμῶν περισσοτέρως μᾶλλον ἐχάρημεν ἐπὶ τῇ χαρᾷ Τίτου, ὅτι ἀναπέπαυται τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ
 14 πάντων ὑμῶν· ὅτι εἴ τι αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κεκαύχημαι, οὐ κατησχύνθην, ἀλλ' ὡς πάντα ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἐλαλήσαμεν ὑμῖν, οὕτως καὶ ἡ καύχησις
 15 ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Τίτου ἀλήθεια ἐγενήθη. καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ περισσοτέρως εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν ἀναμιμνησκομένου τὴν πάντων ὑμῶν ὑπακοήν,
 16 ὡς μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου ἐδέξασθε αὐτόν. χαίρω ὅτι ἐν παντὶ θαρρῶ ἐν ὑμῖν.

So then if I wrote to you as I did, it was not for sake of him who did the wrong, still less of him who suffered it, but to the end that the depth of your own earnestness on our behalf should be made plain to yourselves in the sight of God. That has been our comfort.

and convincing proof of the appropriateness of the word to their relations of fidelity to himself and to Christ. The ἐν παντί is obviously inappropriate to the case of individual immorality.

vii. 12. The *historic* ἔγγραφα confirms our interpretation of ii. 3.

vii. 12. τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος and τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος. The reference has been made clear on ii. 12; ὁ ἀδικήσας is S. Paul's assailant, ὁ ἀδικηθείς S. Paul himself, both—with fine instinct—referred to in this *impersonal* way.

CHAPS. VIII—IX.

There is a manifest break between this and the preceding section. It is an appendage to the main body of the Epistle, commending to the Church at Corinth Titus and his companion and the cause they were about to advocate, the active collection of funds for the poor Christians of Jerusalem. The tone throughout becomes more constrained and tentative. Even the term of address (ἀδελφοί viii. 1) is more conventional. He is careful to say that he does not enjoin it, as any assertion of authority, but that he is induced and as it were overruled by the zeal of others into giving them this opportunity for the exercise of the charity, whose sincerity he knows so well (viii. 8). Paul is evidently not quite at ease, and doubtful whether it is altogether wise or right for him to impose this new test upon the loyalty and affection of the Christians at Corinth. It is like asking an almost personal favour, and of a pecuniary kind, in the very moment of reconciliation. But the cause for which he pleads was too near his heart for him to refrain. He had commended it warmly to the Corinthians a year or more before (πέρνσι viii. 10, ix. 2), when writing Cor. β. They had made a beginning (ix. 2), but it had not been followed up. And we may, I think, infer that it had not met with very warm or very sustained response. Very possibly this had been among the causes of offence alleged against S. Paul; there is nothing else to which we can so well refer charges of πλεονεξία, and the usage of the word in ix. 5 points strongly to this conclusion. Certainly, during the intermediate episodes of

viii. I—7. γνωρίζομεν δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν
 2 δεδομένην ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Μακεδονίας, ὅτι ἐν πολλῇ δοκιμῇ
 θλίψεως ἡ περισσεΐα τῆς χαρᾶς αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ κατὰ βάθους πτωχεία
 3 αὐτῶν ἐπερίσσευσεν εἰς τὸ πλοῦτος τῆς ἀπλότητος αὐτῶν· ὅτι κατὰ
 4 δύναμιν, μαρτυρῶ, καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν, αὐθαίρετοι μετὰ πολλῆς παρα-
 κλήσεως δεόμενοι ἡμῶν, τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς διακονίας τῆς
 5 εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους,—καὶ οὐ καθὼς ἡλπίσαμεν ἀλλ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔδωκαν πρῶτον
 6 τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ἡμῖν διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι ἡμᾶς Τίτον
 ἵνα καθὼς προενήρξατο οὕτως καὶ ἐπιτελέσῃ εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν χάριν
 7 ταύτην· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν παντὶ περισσεύετε, πίστει καὶ λόγῳ καὶ γνώσει
 καὶ πάσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ τῇ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐν ὑμῖν ἀγάπῃ, ἵνα καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ
 χάριτι περισσεύητε.

very strained relations, it had dropped into the background. The indirect references to it in Cor. 8 are apologetic; an appeal at that juncture would obviously have been inappropriate, as well as injudicious. Far more vital interests were at stake. It is a testimony to the completeness of S. Paul's sense of reconciliation, and to his fearless magnanimity of nature, that he ventures now to renew the request, and that it met with the response implied by Rom. xv. 26—27 written from Corinth, and by the brief account of the historian in Acts xx. 4. But it may be noted even there, that no local representative of Corinth is associated with the representatives of the Macedonian, Galatian and 'Asian' Churches.

There is no good reason for treating viii—ix as a separate Epistle. As such the semi-apologetic tone would make it poor and unconvincing; while, as an appendage to i—vii, the tone adopted is appropriate, natural and in perfect good taste. It is a happy parallel to the Epistle to Philemon, and the same note of Christian chivalry, courtesy, and delicacy, pervades both.

viii. 1. The appeal opens with a tribute to the extraordinary liberality and zeal displayed in the Macedonian Churches. Out of the depths of poverty and persecution they had of their own free will and motion contributed up to and even beyond their power.

viii. 1. τὴν δεδομένην. Note the perfect, and the following aorist ἐπερίσσευσεν. Both regard the Macedonian collection as completed, or far advanced: that from Corinth has yet to come.

viii. 6. εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι ἡμᾶς Τίτον. This encouraged him to commission Titus to complete, what Titus had himself inaugurated. The language used makes it plain that Titus had been previously deputed to set on foot the systematic collection of a relief fund. The most natural interpretation of 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2 is certainly that S. Paul is then *for the first time* bringing before them the project of the collection,

viii. 8—9. οὐ κατ' ἐπιταγὴν λέγω, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἐτέρων σπουδῆς
9 καὶ τὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης γνήσιον δοκιμάζων· γινώσκετε γὰρ τὴν
χάριν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ [Χριστοῦ], ὅτι δι' ὑμᾶς ἐπτώχευσεν
πλούσιος ὢν, ἵνα ὑμεῖς τῇ ἐκείνου πτωχείᾳ πλουτήσητε.

and suggesting the way in which contributions may be most effectually secured. Coupling this with the present statement, we get a strong direct testimony that Titus had been the bearer of the First Epistle to Corinth. It is much more explicit than any of the reasons urged by Lightfoot¹, which indeed rest largely upon untenable confusions between different missions of Titus to Corinth.

From the language used, προενήρξατο and ἐπιτελέσαι, it is fair to infer that the effort had languished in the interval. And this is fully borne out, indeed affirmed, by νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι of viii. 11. The *aorist* προενήρξατο itself, repeated in v. 10, records a start, but not continuous effort; and the start had not been followed up by action; hitherto they had not got much beyond good intentions. The same is implied in ix. 1—4, especially in the εὗρωσιν ὑμᾶς ἀπαρασκευάστους of v. 4, though S. Paul handles the matter with scrupulous delicacy.

viii. 8. οὐ κατ' ἐπιταγὴν λέγω. Observe the anxious disclaimer of dictation, supplemented by the γνώμην δίδωμι of v. 10.

viii. 8. διὰ τῆς ἐτέρων σπουδῆς. The ἑτεροὶ are the sister Churches of Macedonia, associated in a natural tie with the Churches of Achaia—and of Corinth in particular.

viii. 8. τὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης γνήσιον δοκιμάζων. Throughout the appeal to their liberality is treated as a personal favour to him who solicits it. Forgiveness is complete, when it ventures to ask a favour from one who had previously misunderstood and maligned motives, and imputed offence where none had been intended. In exposing itself to a new misunderstanding and rebuff, it proclaims the entirety of its trust. Thus the request is the token of S. Paul's unreserved forgiveness, and not less the opportunity and test of their restored affection. Had there been any renewal of misgivings and mistrusts, such as those disclosed

¹ *Biblical Essays*, pp. 280—2.

viii. 10—11. καὶ γνώμην ἐν τούτῳ δίδωμι· τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμῖν
συμφέρεi, οἷτινες οὐ μόνον τὸ ποιῆσαι ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ θέλειν προενήρξασθε
11 ἀπὸ πέρυσι· νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι ἐπιτελέσατε, ὅπως καθάπερ ἡ
προθυμία τοῦ θέλειν οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἐπιτελέσαι ἐκ τοῦ ἔχειν.

in x—xiii, he could not have prefaced them with this appeal, nor allowed it still to hold its place, with such an epilogue attached. It would argue a strange obtuseness in the affections, and that in the Epistle, or rather Epistles, of S. Paul, which more than any other tingle with sensitive perception. The Epistle to the Galatians is perhaps a witness¹, how, though this same scheme for a general collection was already near his heart (cf. Gal. ii. 10 with 1 Cor. xvi. 1), the breach of good relations made it impossible for him in the same breath to rebuke and yet to invite their support. Alike the position and the tone of the appeal demand the severance of the two sections of the Epistle.

viii. 10. ἀπὸ πέρυσι, which is repeated in the same connexion in ix. 2, supplies the relative date of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. The fund was set on foot, and that Epistle written, *in the preceding year*. The term allows some latitude, and may cover either more or less than a twelve-month, but restricts us to the year preceding that in which the present Epistle is written. Such is the habitual, and so far as I know unvarying, usage of the word. It may have been written in the autumn or in the spring of the preceding year—but not in the same year as that to which our present Epistle, Cor. γ, belongs. If we may assume that it was written about Easter time, the Easter concerned and the Pentecost looked forward to in 1 Cor. xvi. 8 must be the Easter and the Pentecost of the preceding year. This is of capital importance for deciding the relative date of the two Epistles. Those who attribute 1 Corinthians to Easter of this same year are put to the strange shift of supposing that S. Paul had in his mind the calendar ending of the Jewish civil or ecclesiastical year. But even this fanciful suggestion hardly relieves them of the difficulty. The Olympiad or the Macedonian eras are still more desperate alternatives.

viii. 11. καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι. You were ready and willing then. *Now* put the good will into act. See on viii. 6.

¹ Personally I incline to an earlier date of composition.

viii. 12—18. εἰ γὰρ ἡ προθυμία πρόκειται, καθὸ ἐὰν ἔχη
 13 εὐπρόσδεκτος, οὐ καθὸ οὐκ ἔχει. οὐ γὰρ ἵνα ἄλλοις ἄνεσις, ὑμῖν
 14 θλίψις· ἀλλ' ἐξ ἰσότητος ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ τὸ ὑμῶν περίσσευμα εἰς τὸ
 ἐκείνων ὑστέρημα, ἵνα καὶ τὸ ἐκείνων περίσσευμα γένηται εἰς τὸ ὑμῶν
 15 ὑστέρημα, ὅπως γένηται ἰσότης· καθὼς γέγραπται Ὁ τὸ πολὺ οὐκ
 16 ἐπλεόνασεν, καὶ ὁ τὸ ὀλίγον οὐκ ἡλαττόνησεν. χάρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ τῷ
 17 διδόντι τὴν αὐτὴν σπουδὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ Τίτου, ὅτι τὴν μὲν
 παράκλησιν ἐδέξατο, σπουδαιότερος δὲ ὑπάρχων αὐθαίρετος ἐξῆλθεν
 18 πρὸς ὑμᾶς. συνεπέμψαμεν δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος ἐν
 τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ διὰ πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν—

viii. 13. In ἄλλοις the poor at Jerusalem are referred to. You may be poor, but perhaps they are poorer still. At any rate I only ask you to give what your own poverty permits.

viii. 16. Titus was anxious to prove your generosity. He felt as sure of it as I; he pressed to be allowed to put it to the proof, and I could not resist his confidence in you. With him are associated two colleagues for whom S. Paul confidently bespeaks a favourable reception.

viii. 18. συνεπέμψαμεν is certainly an epistolary aorist—and so too ἐπέμψα ix. 3.

viii. 18. τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. It appears to me hardly short of demonstrable that this was none other than S. Luke¹.

The list of envoys, who eventually carried the collections to Jerusalem, is furnished in Acts xx. 4. The Macedonian envoys there mentioned are Sopater of Beroea, and Aristarchus and Secundus from Thessalonica. From the primary Macedonian Church none is directly named. But the omission is tacitly supplied in the ἡμᾶς and ἡμεῖς of v. 5 and 6, proving that S. Luke was among the delegates who started from Philippi. Doubtless, and this we might expect, he went as representing Philippi,—though, after his habitual wont, he suppresses all *direct* reference to himself. The συνέδημος of viii. 19 signifies a fellow-delegate, not merely a fellow-traveller, and we are expressly told that he was elected by the Churches. 'The Churches' here must obviously mean the churches from among which the Apostle was at the time writing his Epistle, the Churches of Macedonia. And we may safely infer from this, as already argued on vii. 5, that the Epistle (in accordance with the traditional subscription) was written from Philippi, for which Luke had already been appointed representative commissioner in the matter of the

¹ So Origen, Jerome, Chrysostom, and others, but basing themselves untenably on the ὁ ἔπαινος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ.

viii. 19—24. οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἐκκλησιῶν συνέκδημος ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ χάριτι ταύτῃ τῇ διακονουμένῃ ὑφ'
 20 ἡμῶν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κυρίου δόξαν καὶ προθυμίαν ἡμῶν,—στελλόμενοι
 τοῦτο μή τις ἡμᾶς μωμήσῃται ἐν τῇ ἀδρότητι ταύτῃ τῇ διακονουμένῃ
 21 ὑφ' ἡμῶν, προνοοῦμεν γὰρ καλὰ οὐ μόνον ἐνώπιον Κυρίου ἀλλὰ καὶ
 22 ἐνώπιον ἀνθρώπων. συνεπέμψαμεν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν ὃν
 ἐδοκιμάσαμεν ἐν πολλοῖς πολλάκις σπουδαῖον ὄντα, νυνὶ δὲ πολὺ
 23 σπουδαιότερον πεποιθήσει πολλῇ τῇ εἰς ὑμᾶς. εἴτε ὑπὲρ Τίτου,
 κοινωνὸς ἐμὸς καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς συνεργός· εἴτε ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν, ἀπόστολοι
 24 ἐκκλησιῶν, δόξα χριστοῦ. τὴν οὖν ἔνδειξιν τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν καὶ
 ἡμῶν καυχήσεως ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνδείξασθε εἰς πρόσωπον τῶν
 ἐκκλησιῶν.

Jerusalem collection. He was one of those who had most conspicuously *ἔδωκαν ἑαυτούς* (viii. 5) to this service.

No selection could have been more probable. It was at Troas, coming probably from Philippi and certainly at once returning thither with him, that Luke first made acquaintance with S. Paul. (The arguments and inferences are fully given in Ramsay's *S. Paul the Traveller*, 200 pp.) He not only recounts in full the adventures of S. Paul at Philippi, but throughout his narrative the city is treated by him with special consideration (Acts xvi. 12). From the evidence of the 'we-sections' in the Acts, we learn that Luke remained at Philippi when Paul and his companions proceeded thence (Acts xvii. 1) to Amphipolis and Thessalonica. At Philippi he rejoins him in Acts xx. 6. It is at least probable, and his selection as representative of the Church strongly confirms the supposition, that he resided at Philippi for much or all of the period that intervenes. And he was at this juncture elected co-delegate with Titus to complete the Corinthian contribution. If this reconstruction be correct, S. Luke it would appear left Philippi almost immediately after S. Paul's arrival there, and remained at Corinth till S. Paul reached that city some four months later.

It is interesting to notice how well this reading of S. Luke's movements tallies with the internal evidence latent in the Acts. About the Macedonian ministry he is well informed—Acts xvii. The report of the address at Athens he received from Timotheus and Silas, when the latter returned to Philippi; his own letters and the messengers sent to Philippi (cf. Phil. iv. 15) conveyed the news of S. Paul's needs, and of his tent-making partnership with Aquila and Priscilla at Corinth. Of the subsequent 18 months' ministry at Corinth, of the journey to Jerusalem, of the tour in Galatian Phrygia, and of the long ministry at Ephesus, the author of the *Acts* gives the barest outline, until the end of the Ephesian ministry is reached. The details of the Ephesus outbreak he probably had later from his fellow-envoy Aristarchus, as we may infer from the

ix. I—4. περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς διακονίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους
 2 περισσόν μοί ἐστιν τὸ γράφειν ὑμῖν, οἶδα γὰρ τὴν προθυμίαν ὑμῶν ἣν
 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καυχῶμαι Μακεδόσιν ὅτι Ἀχαΐα παρεσκεύασται ἀπὸ πέρυσι,
 3 καὶ τὸ ὑμῶν ζῆλος ἠρέθισε τοὺς πλείονας. ἐπεμψα δὲ τοὺς ἀδελφούς,
 ἵνα μὴ τὸ καύχημα ἡμῶν τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κενωθῇ ἐν τῷ μέρει τούτῳ, ἵνα
 4 καθὼς ἔλεγον παρεσκευασμένοι ᾗτε, μή πως ἐὰν ἔλθωσιν σὺν ἐμοὶ
 Μακεδόνες καὶ εὕρωσιν ὑμᾶς ἀπαρασκευάστους καταισχυνθῶμεν ἡμεῖς,
 ἵνα μὴ λέγωμεν ὑμεῖς, ἐν τῇ ὑποστάσει ταύτῃ.

note in Acts xix. 29. Also he is able to tell us of S. Paul's *intention* to visit Macedonia, and of the arrival of Timotheus and Erastus to herald his approach. Thus it is no wonder that he is without information regarding the second visit to Corinth, and the Corinthian troubles, revealed and met in these Epistles. And, at the other end, the mission of Luke to Corinth explains phenomena for which it is otherwise not easy to account. The three months' peregrination of Macedonia, extending it would seem to the confines of Illyricum (Rom. xv. 19), are dismissed in a participial clause (Acts xx. 2), which is natural enough if Luke had already departed on his mission to Corinth; while at Corinth itself he knows that S. Paul was on the point of going on board for Syria, when the plot of the local Jews was unmasked, leading S. Paul to change his plan of route, and to travel by way of Macedonia to Jerusalem (Acts xx. 3). The particularity of detail is natural, if S. Luke was with him when the incident occurred. Things seldom fit so well by accident.

The particular phrase οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ is no more than a curious coincidence or premonition, except in so far as we may suppose—and that at least is legitimate—that S. Luke was already, within S. Paul's own knowledge, gathering the materials for his account of 'all which Jesus began to do and to teach.' This may have prompted the choice of the phrase used.

If it be asked why this brother, rather than the other, is to be identified with S. Luke, the answer lies in the words χειροτονηθεὶς συνέκδημος as contrasted with the ὃν ἐδοκιμάσαμεν πολλάκις, which could hardly apply to S. Luke. Silas perhaps answers best to the description.

ix. 2. *παρεσκεύασται*. E.V. 'was ready' goes far beyond the Greek, and so too the R.V. 'has been prepared.' 'Has made preparation' is all the Greek signifies, and even that is charitably said, as the following verses prove. It is *middle*, not passive, in sense, just as in 1 Cor. xiv. 8.

ix. 4. Titus and his brother envoys are sent on in advance.

ix. 5—15. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἡγησάμην παρακαλέσαι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς
 ἵνα προέλθωσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ προκαταρτίσωσι τὴν προεπηγγελμένην
 εὐλογίαν ὑμῶν, ταύτην ἐτοίμην εἶναι οὕτως ὡς εὐλογίαν καὶ μὴ ὡς
 6 πλεονεξίαν. τοῦτο δέ, ὁ σπείρων φειδομένως φειδομένως καὶ θερίσει,
 7 καὶ ὁ σπείρων ἐπ' εὐλογίαις ἐπ' εὐλογίαις καὶ θερίσει. ἕκαστος καθὼς
 προήρηται τῇ καρδίᾳ, μὴ ἐκ λύπης ἢ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἱλαρὸν γὰρ δότην
 8 ἀγαπᾷ ὁ θεός. δυνατεῖ δὲ ὁ θεὸς πᾶσαν χάριν περισσεύσαι εἰς ὑμᾶς,
 ἵνα ἐν παντὶ πάντοτε πᾶσαν αὐτάρκειαν ἔχοντες περισσεύητε εἰς πᾶν
 9 ἔργον ἀγαθόν· (καθὼς γέγραπται

Ἐσκόρπισεν, ἔδωκεν τοῖς πένησιν,

ἢ δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα·

10 ὁ δὲ ἐπιχορηγῶν σπέρμα τῷ σπείροντι καὶ ἄρτον εἰς βρώσιν χορηγήσει
 καὶ πληθυνεῖ τὸν σπόρον ὑμῶν καὶ αὐξήσει τὰ γενήματα τῆς δικαιοσύνης
 11 ὑμῶν) ἐν παντὶ πλουτιζόμενοι εἰς πᾶσαν ἀπλότητα, ἣτις κατεργάζεται
 12 δι' ἡμῶν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ θεῷ,—ὅτι ἡ διακονία τῆς λειτουργίας ταύτης
 οὐ μόνον ἐστὶν προσαναπληροῦσα τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶν ἁγίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 13 περισσεύουσα διὰ πολλῶν εὐχαριστιῶν τῷ θεῷ,—διὰ τῆς δοκιμῆς τῆς
 διακονίας ταύτης δοξάζοντες τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑποταγῇ τῆς ὁμολογίας
 ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ χριστοῦ καὶ ἀπλότητι τῆς κοινωνίας εἰς
 14 αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς πάντας, καὶ αὐτῶν δεήσει ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐπιποθούντων ὑμᾶς
 15 διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐφ' ὑμῖν. χάρις τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ τῇ
 ἀνεκδιηγῇ αὐτοῦ δωρεᾷ.

S. Paul himself intends shortly to follow, and very possibly representatives of the Macedonian Churches may accompany him.

ix. 5. *πλεονεξίαν* reads like an echo of xii. 18, and in its opposition to *εὐλογία*, 'charitable contributions,' strongly confirms the suggestion made at p. 71.

ix. 6—15. The remainder of the chapter is a pæan of happy confidence, which culminates in the 'Thanks be unto God for his unspeakable gift.' And with this ascription of praise the Epistle has reached its natural close. It is a whole, a unity. It lacks only the final word of exhortation, of salutation to friends, of approaching and expectant reunion, and of loving commendation to God, which the Apostle was used to add with his own hand. It is as though the First Epistle had ended with xvi. 12, where its subject-matter is complete. What mischance here detached the ending from the rest, it is useless to speculate. It may be that the covering or final strip of the ms. was lost or defaced beyond recovery.

Whatever be the truth, we can hardly doubt that the same chance which conjoined the later with the antecedent Epistle (Chs. x—xiii) is responsible for the loss. It is at least certain that the Epistle could not have passed by way of postscript into the passionate fears, protests and appeals of the closing chapters. They make shipwreck of all psychological unity. If such a postscript was necessary or possible, S. Paul must have torn up the pages he had penned; he could not have appended to the same letter that defeat and contradiction of all his hopes. To explain them as words of warning to a disaffected and recalcitrant minority¹ is hope-

¹ Baring Gould, *Study of St Paul*, pp. 314—5, in his own manner, puts it thus: "The Second Epistle is divided into two parts. In the first he addresses the favourable and docile majority, which accepted his opinions without question, and bowed meekly beneath his lash....The second exhibits the Apostle turning sharply round to pour out galling satire against such as questioned his ministry." The question is, Does this satisfy our reading of S. Paul's personality?

less. There is no hint of any such intention, and no such limitation of contents; there are no saving clauses; no appeal to the loved and the trusted, as distinguished from the rebellious few; the whole body, not a section, is addressed; without one word of explanation, the trust, the confidence, the joy of reconciliation, the glow and fervent triumph of affection are all unsaid. And the severity of protest is maintained to the end; even the four closing verses are but a last appeal of affection, hoping against hope, that restoration is still possible. In tone and context it may best be compared with the parallel ending of the Epistle to the Galatians.

Starting with a clear hypothesis, and keeping our eyes fixed upon the central problem of structure, composition and relation of parts, we have now traversed the Epistle from end to end, scrutinising each verse, each word, each implication, to test the soundness of the theory proposed. It has nowhere failed or broken down. I have not consciously shirked or paltered with a single phrase; no difficulty has been masked or circumvented. There has been no temptation to do so. For everywhere the reconstruction has seemed to clear away old stumbling-blocks, without creating new. It has restored words to their natural sense, resolved obscurities, and transformed seeming contradictions into luminous coincidences and corroborations. It has yielded a harmonious scheme of time and place, doubtful in some particulars, but nowhere conflicting with facts known or probable. Above all, it has given spiritual unity and coherence to these troubled phases of S. Paul's experience. Hitherto, to speak frankly, the Second Epistle to the Corinthians has seemed to miss its mark, and as a whole to fall disappointingly short of its constituent fragments. Experts apart, I believe few readers could give a clear or sure account of its purpose and contents. No great English commentator has made it his own, or handled it except as a somewhat perfunctory portion of a

larger scheme. None other of S. Paul's Epistles lies open to this charge; and the time is come when from it too the reproach may be lifted. Read in its new setting, it reveals with fresh and convincing vividness the S. Paul whom we revere and love. His living lineaments are there: 'his words have hands and feet.' This is the highest kind of spiritual proof; it appeals to the reason and the heart.

§ IV. CONTAMINATION OF CORINTHIANS Γ, Δ.

If it is asked how the amalgamation of two discrepant Epistles into a single whole could have occurred, the circumstances suggest a possible, and even natural, explanation. Both letters were addressed to the same Church within the same year, both passed doubtless into the same hands and were stored in the same chest. The actual manuscripts of the Apostle were preserved as sacred heirlooms by the Church to which they were addressed. It was so at Thessalonica, and so at Philippi¹. The language of Clement²—ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου—assures us that it was so likewise at Corinth, just as in later days his own letter³ was treasured at Corinth, and liturgically read on Sundays in the services of the Corinthian Church. If his own words have reference only to the First Epistle, it cannot be doubted that subsequent letters were entrusted to the same keeping. But between the vogue given to the First Epistle, and the so-called Second, a significant difference appears. Of all the Canonical Epistles, none except that to the Romans and to the Hebrews is so early and so widely attested as the First Epistle to the Corinthians. The Second seems to have remained unknown to the Church at large until the time of Polycarp. The one⁴ alleged reference in the Epistle of Barnabas is altogether insecure. The words of Barnabas run thus: μελετῶμεν τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ... Ὁ κύριος ἀπροσωπολήμπως

¹ Tertull. *de praescr.* 36, apud quas ipsae authenticæ literæ eorum recitantur.

² Clem. *Cor.* § 47.

³ Dionysius of Corinth, ap. Euseb. *H.E.* iv. 23.

⁴ I ignore the supposed parallels to 2 Cor. v. 17 ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινῇ κτίσις. The language and the thought of Ephesians come far nearer to the adaptations which appear in Ep. Barnabas. See *N.T. in the Apostolic Fathers*, p. 4.

κρινεῖ τὸν κόσμον· ἕκαστος καθὼς ἐποίησεν κομιέται· ἐὰν ᾖ ἀγαθός, ἡ δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ προηγήσεται αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν ᾖ πονηρός, ὁ μίσθος τῆς πονηρίας ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ. This has been claimed as a reminiscence of 2 Cor. v. 10; but 1 Pet. i. 17 εἰ πατέρα ἐπικαλεῖσθε τὸν ἀπροσωπολήμπτως κρίνοντα κατὰ τὸ ἐκάστου ἔργον, and Eph. vi. 8 εἰδότες ὅτι ἕκαστος ἐάν τι ποιήσῃ ἀγαθόν, τοῦτο κομιέται παρὰ κυρίου (with which cf. Col. iii. 25) supply much closer parallels.

Neither in the Didache, nor in Hermas, is any acquaintance traceable with 2 Corinthians, while the evidence from Clement is of an altogether striking and remarkable kind. On behalf of the Church at Rome, Clement addresses a lengthy exhortation to the Church of Corinth, the main object of which is to rebuke the spirit of faction and distrust, to heal revolts against the constituted leaders and teachers of the Christian body, to restore peace and concord to a divided Church. Nothing in Scripture fits so closely to his theme as 2 Corinthians; nor is anything so telling in local association, or so happy in its auguries; and Clement is a writer who leans continually upon the Scriptures, old and new, who cites them from the stores of a retentive memory, who quotes freely and at length from the Epistle to the Romans, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and above all from the First Epistle to the Corinthians, who avails himself of Pauline figures and vocabulary, and refers specifically to the First Epistle in the following terms¹: 'Take up the Epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle. What did he first write to you at the beginning of the Gospel? Of a truth he gave you spiritual commandment concerning himself and Kephias and Apollos, for that even then ye had made parties and divisions.' The very wording (τὴν ἐπιστολὴν Clem. i. 47), though in itself, as Lightfoot justly observes, not absolutely decisive, affords a strong implication that one Epistle only was present to his mind. And the conclusion becomes irrefragable when we reflect how absolutely pertinent to his theme, alike for language and for historical illustration, the Second Epistle is from end to end, how from either section of it

¹ Clem. i. 47.

he might have culled words of authoritative and pained rebuke, or protestations of affectionate assurance in the 'better self' of the Corinthian Church. Yet no single passage betrays knowledge of its language or contents. Apart from one or two fragmentary and inconclusive parallels, one passage only is alleged as evidencing knowledge of the Epistle, and that as it seems to me is conclusive in the opposite direction. In enumerating the sufferings of S. Paul, entailed upon him by the jealousy and opposition of dissentients, Clement writes thus: 'And through jealousy and strife Paul too made attestation of the prize¹ of stedfast endurance. Seven times he suffered bonds, he was driven into exile, he was stoned...².' There ends the parallel and the enumeration. Does it establish or does it disprove the writer's knowledge of 2 Cor. xi. 23—27? The ἐπτάκις 'seven times' is in marked contrast with the πεντάκις and τρίς of our Epistle: there is but one verbal correspondence, in the inevitable ἐλιθάσθην; while in point of completeness, vivacity and detail, the treatment is so meagre and poverty-stricken that it seems to me incredible that it should have been addressed as an appeal to the Church of Corinth itself by any one who had ever heard or seen the passionate and stirring recapitulation wrung from the sufferer's own pen³.

If the single passage may seem indecisive, the total weight of evidence, implied by *the absence of all citation*, is irresistible. It is one of the rare cases where the argument from silence is conclusive. In this appeal of the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth the use made of 1 Corinthians is so direct and conspicuous, while the language, the circumstances and the warnings of 2 Corinthians are so much more exactly suited to the case, that it is impossible to believe that any writer occupying the position of Clement,

¹ βραβεῖον, S. Paul's own word in 1 Cor. ix. 24.

² Clem. Cor. § 5.

³ Kennedy, *Second and Third Epistles to the Corinthians*, 142 pp., enforces these considerations with telling effect, and dwells further on the striking but quite unnoticed parallel of Clement's own position with S. Paul's, when he despatched his own envoys, Ephebus and Bito, to the as yet unreconciled Church of Corinth.

quoting continually from books of the N.T., and resting his most direct and personal appeal upon the apostolic utterances of S. Paul to his own Church of Corinth, could throughout 64 chapters have refrained from quoting or referring to an Epistle, which might almost be described as made for the purpose, if its contents had been within his cognisance. In the whole field of literature it would hardly be possible to adduce a stronger case of proof, that 2 Corinthians was unknown to the writer of the Epistle which bears the name of Clement. Nor is it a case of individual ignorance. Clement writes as the mouthpiece, and with the full cognisance of the Church as a whole. Thus, up to the end of the first century—the exact date of Clement's Epistle is 96 A.D.—2 Corinthians was not known to the Church of Rome, and, if so, certainly not to the Church at large.

The evidence from Ignatius, writing in 110 A.D., is to some extent similar in kind; while he may fairly be said to be steeped in the thought and language of the First Epistle, his references to 2 Corinthians are comparatively rare. But, at least in the longer recension, some instances¹ such as *Trall.* § 4 οὐχ ὡς ἀπόστολος διατάσσομαι, ἀλλ' ἐμavτὸν μετρῶ, ἵνα μὴ ἐν καυχῇσι ἀπόλωμαι. καλὸν δὲ τὸ ἐν Κυρίῳ καυχᾶσθαι compared with 2 Cor. x. 12. 13. 17, and *Eph.* § 15 compared with 2 Cor. viii. 18, seem unquestionable.

When we come to Polycarp, references are assured. And, outside of Corinth itself, Ephesus is of all localities the one where we might first expect to find familiarity with the Epistle, which so intimately associates the history and fortunes of the sister Churches. Nowhere would the Epistle be read with keener and more personal interest, or become more familiarly dear.

Thus it seems clear that 2 Corinthians, unknown at Rome and *a fortiori* to other Churches in 96 A.D., has become the property of the Church at large by 110 A.D.

What is the meaning of this? A natural interpretation is not far to seek. The suppression of the Epistle may have been an accident, parallel to that which caused the loss of the letter

¹ Lightfoot on Ignatius, Vol. III, Index II, supplies parallels.

referred to in 1 Cor. v. 9. But there too we observe that the contents of the letter were not creditable to the Church of Corinth. It was a letter convicting some among their number of gross moral laxity, a letter to take to heart for the reformation of their own body, not one to publish to the Christian world: a letter too containing a sentence of personal condemnation.

The same is true of this Second Epistle to the Corinthians: at least of the earlier section of it, without which the later is imperfectly intelligible. For I cannot doubt that the lost, or rather the suppressed, commencement, which led up to the existing Chapter x, contained the name (or names) of the principal offender. In the general reconciliation, as we learn from 2 Cor. ii. 5—7, he received public censure, but was received back into the fold of the Corinthian Church. S. Paul's own injunction was 'to show him grace and comfort him,' not to blazon abroad the fault, which he had publicly atoned. It was in keeping with the Apostle's own desire, it was a part of the charity and of the self-respect of the Church of Corinth as a whole, that these letters should indeed be treasured in their archives, but that they should not be there and then, and word for word, published to the Church at large. They had fulfilled their first intent—they must not be made a source of personal heart-burnings, a constant provocation to the antagonisms and jealousies, which it had been their object and their happiness to heal. For all we know, it may have been by S. Paul's own act and wish that certain passages were cancelled or destroyed. When the full time was come, when fifty years had passed and the actors in these troubles had gone to their rest, when intestine feuds and quarrels had once more yielded to the appeals of Clement and to the indwelling spirit of Christ, it was well that the letters of their own Apostle should be made a unifying power not to Corinth only, but to Christians throughout the world, and should take their place of honour among the books held sacred. But the Canon of the New Testament was not composed upon the principles of the Koran. From the first, no mechanical or superstitious sanctity attached either to the words or to the writings of S. Paul. Of his correspondence much more

or has perished¹ than has been preserved. In this I see no reason to doubt that selective insight played its part, as well as carelessness and accident. It was better, we may believe, that Cor. α should disappear than live. It was never meant to be 'canonical.' And in editing, too, some such freedom may well have been assumed. The same discretion—only of a more stringent and responsible kind—was exercised as in issuing a 'Life and Letters.' Even when the time for publication came, still, if the conjecture may be allowed, it was deemed a part of charity to exclude the words of personal condemnation, the name and shame of the wrong-doer, and for permanent use and edification to allow 'But I Paul myself intreat you by the meekness and gentleness of Christ' to stand for the abrupt beginning. At what exact point in the history of transmission the excision occurred, it is useless to consider. It may—though that is unlikely—have dealt with the original; more probably it first occurred in the copy used for public reading, or in the privileged copy (or copies) sent to Rome or Ephesus or Alexandria, which became the fountain source of the Received Text. To speculate on possibilities is fruitless; it is enough if we have divined aright that not mere caprice or carelessness, but some selective guidance of the Spirit played its part in sifting as well as in preserving those portions of S. Paul's correspondence with the Corinthians, which were to become the permanent heritage of the Christian Church.

¹ On lost Epistles of S. Paul, see Jowett's Essay appended to his edition of the *Thessalonians*, and compare Lightfoot on *Philippians*, 136 pp. With reference to Corinth in particular, there is the telling evidence of 2 Cor. x. 10. 'His letters (say they) are weighty and powerful,' referring to correspondence now represented by 1 Corinthians alone.

§ V. EXAMINATION OF CORINTHIANS B.

We have next to consider what bearing the decomposition of 2 Corinthians has upon the date and occasion of 1 Corinthians. In dealing with this subject, it is essential alike for brevity and clearness to speak of the years concerned by their numerical date. The actual chronology is still subject of controversy, but the relative chronology within the few years with which we have to deal admits of no doubt. The larger question lies quite outside the scope of this discussion and is immaterial to it. In specifying the years, I have adopted—without prejudice—the scheme propounded by Mr Turner in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, but no disturbance of the interior chronology would result from shifting the whole scheme a year forward (with Ramsay) or a year backward (with Harnack). I therefore take 50 A.D. as the date of S. Paul's first arrival at Corinth, 52 A.D. as the date of his visit to Jerusalem and the commencement of his *τρεῖς* at Ephesus, 55 A.D. as the year of his departure from Ephesus for Macedonia. And at the end I have drawn up a *Chronological Synopsis* showing in detail all the events connected with the Corinthian ministry, and the composition and despatch of the several Epistles to the Corinthians. In this I have included all the results attained in the course of our examination. This in itself furnishes a practical test of their validity, and shows that they do not upon the chronological side involve self-contradictions. But I have not burdened the Essay with needless repetition of the primary *data*, on which most of the familiar and accepted conclusions depend.

The assignment of Cor. 8 to spring, or at latest early summer 55 A.D. in Ephesus, instead of to the autumn in Macedonia, reacts upon the date of 1 Corinthians, especially in connexion with the approach of Pentecost referred to in 1 Cor. xvi. 8. In the first place room must be made for the second visit of S. Paul to Corinth, prior to the writing of Cor. 8. This visit must have occupied the early

part of 55 A.D. Hitherto almost all authorities agree in assigning 1 Corinthians to the spring of 55 A.D. Ramsay¹ stands almost alone in assigning it to autumn (October) of the preceding year (in his own scheme computed as 55 A.D., not as 54 A.D.), but without, so far as I know, assigning reasons for this conclusion. This date would not be irreconcilable with most of the conclusions which I have reached, but seems to me unsupported by any particular evidence, and to be at variance with the incidental notes of time, and still more with the general considerations that are available. For, secondly, between the two Epistles there must be left sufficient interval for all the circumstances, and all the conflicts and changes of opinion, which intervened between the writing of Cor. β and Cor. δ. For estimating these aright, an examination of the links connecting Cor. β with Cor. δ and Cor. γ is requisite; but we may restrict ourselves to the few passages, which, by historical or chronological implication, assist us to determine the date of writing relatively on the one hand to S. Paul's own ministry at Corinth, on the other to his despatch of Cor. δ from Ephesus in the spring of 55 A.D.

It will be well first of all to clear the ground of the unsubstantial theory that 1 Corinthians may possibly be later than either Cor. δ or Cor. γ. It is impossible to intercalate it between the two, the period of strained suspense, in which Paul was thirsting for the answer to his letter of remonstrance, still more to place it after the despatch of Titus to complete the collection, which Cor. β itself inaugurates. But the internal evidence of the Epistle itself is sufficient to prove priority. Throughout, perhaps most specifically in 1 Cor. ii. 1 *καὶ γὰρ ἐλθὼν πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, *one previous visit* only is assumed, showing that the letter is prior to the second visit recorded in 2 Cor. xii. 14, xiii. 1—2. If it be urged that the phrase does not exclude a second visit, it is at least true that the reference must be to the *most recent* occasion of meeting—‘When I came to you’ is the equivalent of ‘When *last* I came.’ [Contrast the *τὸ πρότερον* of Gal. iv. 13.] And the whole description of the visit tallies naturally with the

¹ *Church in Roman Empire*, p. 168.

first visit, the visit of conversion and founding, recounted in Acts xviii, and is irreconcilable with the kind of intercourse, brief and acrimonious, referred to in Cor. 8. The same implication is contained in the οὐδὲ ἔτι νῦν of iii. 3, combined with the account of his first residence and ministry. It leaves no room for the intervention of a second visit.

Moreover, such language as that of 1 Cor. xi. 2, ἐπαινῶ ὑμᾶς ὅτι πάντα μου μέμνησθε, excludes the idea of *recent* personal intercourse, still less a meeting, brief and stormy, of strained relations and disclaimers—and constitutes internal proof of a *considerable interval* between the personal intercourse and the despatch of the Epistle. (The actual interval covers rather more than two years, February 52 A.D. to Easter 54 A.D.) There had been time for reports to reach him not only from the household of Chloe, but also through other channels of communication (cf. v. 1, xi. 18, xvi. 17); and also for interchange of letters—including his own referred to in v. 9, and the collective Epistle to which this is a reply—each of these, it must be remembered, involving a journey across the Ægean, or by the longer route overland. Thus the Epistle does not stand very close in time to the departure of Paul from Corinth, which belongs to the close of February 52 A.D. Space too must be left for the gradual development and discrimination of parties attaching themselves to the teaching of Paul, of Apollos, of Kephas, or (maybe) of Christ. For all this, a year is too scant measure, two years or thereabouts by no means too long. We are impelled to Easter 54 A.D., in preference to Easter 53 A.D.

And the same date is favoured by our records of Apollos. He first reached Ephesus (Acts xviii. 24) *after* S. Paul's passing visit to the city on his voyage from Corinth to Jerusalem in March of 52 A.D. Time must be given for him to arrest attention among the Jews of Ephesus, to associate himself with Priscilla and Aquila, to receive from them 'the more exact' instruction 'in the way of God' (Acts xviii. 26), to coordinate it with his Jewish creed, and so eventually to pass on to Corinth, there to uphold and to disseminate Pauline interpretations of the place and person

of Jesus Christ. Apollos had left Ephesus before S. Paul's own return there in the autumn (Acts xix. 1), but we shall be clearly right in putting his departure for Corinth later rather than early in the summer of 52 A.D.

Arriving there, let us say in September, Apollos had to establish his position at Corinth, to gain place and hearing there, to create a following, to do all that may be included in S. Paul's own phrase ἐγὼ ἐφύτευσα, Ἀπολλῶς ἐπότισεν, ἀλλὰ ὁ θεὸς ἡύξανε (1 Cor. iii. 6), and to leave his impress permanently upon the beliefs and tendencies of the Corinthian Church. Not only so, but there must have been time for news of all this to reach S. Paul, and for Apollos himself to rejoin him at Ephesus (1 Cor. xvi. 12), before the writing and the despatch of the Epistle. And that the return of Apollos to Ephesus was no very recent matter, but of some considerable standing, is a just and natural inference from the language of 1 Cor. xvi. 12. Considering the seasons of the year it may be appropriately referred at latest to the summer or autumn of 53 A.D. All this inevitably carries us to Easter 54 A.D., rather than to Easter 53 A.D., as the date of composition; and corroborates that assumption, so far as this particular line of evidence is concerned.

It will be well at this point to collect and annotate the salient passages that bear upon the ministry of Apollos in Corinth, and the formation of parties there.

- i. 10. μὴ ᾗ ἐν ὑμῖν σχίσματα. The tendency to dissensions had indeed begun to show itself. But that they had not yet passed into anything approaching the acuteness and intensity of phase disclosed to us by Cor. 8 is plain from this word of warning, and from the whole tenor of the Epistle. The word itself falls short in stringency of English 'schisms,' and has as yet no technical connotation, in describing Church feuds. In 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19 it is used of divisions less harsh than αἰρέσεις. The letter is addressed to a Church one and undivided (i. 2); there is no hint of open rebellion against the authority and teaching of the Apostle himself. Quite the

reverse. The Church appeals to him collectively (vii. 1) to arbitrate upon their differences, to solve their spiritual doubts and difficulties, to deal with questions of internal difficulty. He assumes their loyal allegiance (v. 11, vii. 17, ix. 1, x. 15, xi. 1. 2. 34, xv. 1); he distinguishes pronouncements of his personal opinion from fundamental principles of Christian faith and living (vii. 12. 25. 40; xi. 16); he nowhere contends for his own claims, his Apostolic mandate or authority—they are admitted (ix. 2 *vv.*, xi. 17. 34, xv. 1 *vv.*); he entreats them still (as in the past) ‘to speak the same thing,’ ‘to be together perfected in the same mind and the same judgment’ (i. 10). Reports of contentions had reached him from the household of Chloe (i. 11) and from others, but all members of the Church still gather together as one household for celebration of the Eucharistic rite (xi. 17, 18 *vv.*) and the forms of Christian worship (xiv). ‘The body is still one’ (xii. 12), ‘charity’ still claims its place of preeminence (xiii), his ‘love is with them all in Christ Jesus’ (xvi. 24).

- i. 12. ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμι Παύλου, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλώ. Neither here, nor in
 iii. 4—6, are we to understand that parties had actually assumed these appellations. It is S. Paul’s vivid way of describing the tendencies at work. For this we have his own assurance in iv. 6, where he says expressly ταῦτα μετεσχημάτισα εἰς ἑμαυτὸν καὶ Ἀπολλώ. He puts his own name first, that he may not touch susceptibilities regarding Apollos, or give any handle for misunderstandings. Later he expressly relieves him from any suspicion of disloyalty, or desire for personal aggrandisement. See xvi. 12, which means that fear of partisanship made return to Corinth for the moment un congenial to him: he did not desire to stand in comparison with Paul. S. Paul is equally chivalrous, placing himself lowest in grade in an ascending scale—Paul, Apollos, Kephas, Christ, and repeating the same order in iii. 22. Kephas here only means the chief and most honoured of the Apostles. It does not imply that Peter himself had been at Corinth, nor yet

that he had sent emissaries there, with delegated claims or authority; it suggests no Petro-Pauline feud, but, taken in its context, the reverse. 'Paul, Apollos, Kephas, the world, life, death, things present or things to come, all are yours; and ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's' (iii. 23).

All this is widely different from the state of things revealed in Cor. 8. In Cor. 3 the differences arise on disputed points of doctrine, but turn still more upon questions of social and ecclesiastical order, precedence and decorum: they have not as yet developed in any direction into avowed or personal antagonism to S. Paul. But in Cor. 8 they take a new complexion. Emissaries, it would appear, had arrived (2 Cor. xi. 4), coming probably from Jerusalem, and claiming for themselves, as against S. Paul, the prestige of Apostolic support, tradition, and perhaps even of direct commission. They fostered successful and widespread discontent, revolt against the teaching, and still more against the claims and person of S. Paul; they denied the validity of his commission; they used his own letters (2 Cor. x. 11), most certainly including Cor. 3 itself, as a handle against him; they charged him on the one hand with insignificance and cringing, on the other with self-aggrandisement and greed; and it is difficult to associate the imputation of design and avarice with anything but the general subscription commended and inaugurated in 1 Cor. xvi. 1. All this demands an interspace of time, of continuous and planned misrepresentation, sapping the faith and the affections of his converts. And even when accomplished, an interval is needed for the transmission of the news to Paul. Six or nine months are none too much for such developments; it is difficult to think of them as occupying less. The material was ready; but the passage from the restless *σχίσματα* of Cor. 3 to the overt antagonisms of Cor. 8 in itself implies the interval assigned, and favours the transference of Cor. 3 from 55 A.D. to Easter 54 A.D. That date suits all the indications.

iii. 6. ἐγὼ ἐφύτευσα, Ἀπολλῶς ἐπότισεν, ἀλλὰ ὁ θεὸς ἡΰξανεν. The aorists throw back the ministry of Paul and the ministry of Apollos into an accomplished past. The imperfect ἡΰξανεν, covering the results of both as known to Paul, implies an intermediate period, gradual and progressive, and so far as it goes suggests, or at least accords with the impression conveyed by xvi. 12, that the return of Apollos from Corinth to Ephesus was not of very recent occurrence.

iv. 17. ἐπεμψα ὑμῖν Τιμόθεον. From xvi. 10 it is clear that the aorist is not epistolary, but refers to a previous despatch of Timothy. S. Paul admits both usages; for the epistolary, see 2 Cor. viii. 18, ix. 3, Eph. vi. 22, Phil. ii. 28, Col. iv. 8; for the narrative, 1 Thes. iii. 2, 5—all of which are indisputable. So too ἐγραψα shows *both* senses in 1 Cor. v. 9, 11. It is further clear that S. Paul himself was not certain whether Timothy would reach Corinth before or after the receipt of this Epistle, or would be detained *en route*, and not fulfil this part of his mission. The one natural inference is that Timothy had gone round by the overland route, and that this letter was sent direct by sea. This accords well with the date, approximately Easter, assigned for the despatch of the Epistle. For Timothy, starting earlier, the Ægean was not yet open.

Thus in February or early March, Timothy set out from Ephesus by way of Macedonia, intending to proceed thence to Corinth, and if so to return from Corinth to Ephesus (1 Cor. xvi. 11) with the brethren, who had been charged with the conveyance of this Epistle. There is no good reason for supposing that the plan was not accomplished. In *Biblical Essays*, pp. 277—280, Lightfoot marshals the reasons for believing that Timothy did not proceed beyond Macedonia; none of them are in any way convincing, and they rest entirely upon two assumptions—first the unity of 2 Corinthians, secondly the identification of this journey with the sending of Timothy and Erastus into Macedonia (recorded in Acts

xix. 22) shortly before S. Paul's own departure from Ephesus in 55 A.D. How precarious such an assumption is may be shown from the movements of Timōthy between Macedonia, Athens and Corinth, revealed by the notices in 1 Thessalonians iii. 2. 6. It is there clear that Silas and Timothy, after first remaining behind at Beroëa, rejoined Paul at Athens; that from Athens Silas went back to Philippi and Timothy to Thessalonica, and in a little while returned and rejoined Paul at Corinth. The notices in Acts (while not excluding this scheme) refer only to the single journey from Macedonia to Athens.

The parallel is useful as showing how freely Timothy was employed by S. Paul for conveying messages or letters to the Churches with which he was in correspondence. In the present instance there is no reason for imputing any confusion or contradiction to the account in Acts. So far as Corinth is concerned, the events of these years are covered by the single phrase τοῦτο ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἔτη δύο (Acts xix. 10) 'so it went on for two years.' There is no reference whatever to the missions of Titus, to the second visit of S. Paul to Corinth, to the despatch of his messengers with Cor. α, or Cor. β, or Cor. δ. The whole is a blank, excepting as regards Ephesus, and even there only two salient and typical incidents are recorded. We have only to suppose that Timothy went round by Macedonia to Corinth, as planned, that from thence, as intended, he returned to Ephesus (1 Cor. xvi. 10), and remained there with Paul (or perhaps fulfilled other missions), until he was sent on from Ephesus in the following year (55 A.D.) in company with Erastus, to announce S. Paul's approaching departure from Ephesus, and await his coming to Macedonia, and all fits harmoniously into place. The only reason why his journey with Erastus is mentioned is, I presume, that the author of the Acts received from them tidings of S. Paul's intended visit, and very possibly some account of his ministry at Ephesus. That he was still in Macedonia when S. Paul arrived there, and conjoined with him in the

opening salutation of Cor. γ, is some evidence in favour of his having visited Corinth, as intended, in the preceding year. It helps to account for what is otherwise rather inexplicable. [It may be observed that in this new setting Lightfoot's reasonings (*Bibl. Es.* p. 277), so far as they apply, retain their validity.]

If this be the correct account, Timothy himself will be one of those who brought Paul news of the turn things were taking at Corinth, and of the growing disaffection which finally necessitated his second visit; and this might furnish a natural reason for selecting Titus, rather than Timothy, to be the bearer of Cor. δ.

iv. 18, 19. S. Paul looks forward to revisiting Corinth, though time and occasion are still quite indeterminate. The intention, reiterated in xi. 34, xvi. 3, found fulfilment in the *second visit*, which was necessitated, as he already began to fear, owing to τὸν λόγον τῶν πεφυσιωμένων.

v. 1. ὅλως ἀκούεται. He deals first with reported laxities, Chs. v and vi, then with the specific points submitted.

v. 7. τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη... ὥστε ἐορτάζωμεν. These words help to suggest that the Epistle was composed at the approach of the Paschal feast, and quite independent considerations concur in the same conclusion.

v. 9. ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ. This is the one direct reference to Cor. α. The definite article may at first sight suggest that this was the sole letter yet written by S. Paul to Corinth. But it will not bear even this strain. Clearly it means the particular letter referred to in the collective communication sent to him, and dealt with from vii. 1 onwards. Observe the frequency of communication implied—(1) Cor. α in the nature of an open epistle (ὑμῖν) addressed by S. Paul to Corinth; (2) a collective memorandum of reply, covering a wide field of inquiries, from the Corinthians to S. Paul; (3) S. Paul's own rejoinder in Cor. β; (4) the reference to 'Letters' in

the plural in 2 Cor. x. 10—11. Some time is required for the interchange. Like intercourse with other Churches is testified by vii. 17, 2 Cor. xi. 28 and other passages. On the disappearance of Cor. α suggestions have been made at the close of the last section, p. 91—93.

In this and the following chapters, v—xv, the nucleus of the whole Epistle, he deals in succession with points raised or suggested by the collective memorandum, referred to in vii. 1, addressed to him by the Corinthian Church. They concern questions of marriage and remarriage; of circumcision; of servile status; of virginity; of meats offered to idols; of the status and remuneration of ministers; of the celebration of the Eucharist; of the attire of women, and their participation in ministerial acts, at public worship; of 'spiritual gifts' and their exercise; of the doctrine of the Resurrection. Except as showing the development of Church life and thought since S. Paul's own residence at Corinth, they raise no points for the purpose of this Essay.

xi. 34 repeats the uncertain intimation of iv. 19.

xv. 32. *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἐθηριομάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ.* Ramsay pours scorn upon McGiffert's¹ disposition to accept the word as literal biography. He doubts 'if two scholars in the whole of Europe will accept the interpretation.' Are Weizsäcker, then, and Rutherford to be refused that title? Precisely the scholar, as it seems to me, lies most under temptation. About the bare *ἐθηριομάχησα* there is none of the preparation, none of the setting, which suggests and befits a metaphor. The word is not in accepted figurative use; indeed no parallel can be adduced, for, in the passage from Ignatius, it forms part of a rhetorical description in which his escort of soldiers is composed of ten *λεόπαρδοι*. It is associated by the context with physical death—and a death precluding the idea of resurrection. It is *localised* ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, by a curious chance the one city in Asia where such a thing was possible. And

¹ *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, pp. 280—2.

xvi. 1—2. περὶ δὲ τῆς λογίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους, ὥσπερ διέταξα
2 ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιήσατε. κατὰ μίαν
σαββάτου ἕκαστος ὑμῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ τιθέτω θησαυρίζων ὅτι ἐὰν εὐοδῶ-
ται, ἵνα μὴ ὅταν ἔλθω τότε λογίαι γίνωνται.

a figurative interpretation leaves the *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον* inept and hardly intelligible. As supporting the literal interpretation, it is worth while to point to the *θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν* of iv. 9, which Rutherford¹ (without so far as it appears having this reference in his mind) paraphrases 'as men sentenced to death make the crowning sport in the amphitheatre'; and it may be well, upon the lexical side, to quote from Marcus Aurelius² an interesting parallel, which I have not seen in Commentaries. *τὸ γὰρ ἔτι τοιοῦτον εἶναι οἷος μέχρι νῦν γέγονας, καὶ ἐν βίῳ τοιούτῳ σπαράσσεσθαι καὶ μολύνεσθαι λίαν ἐστὶν ἀναισθήτου καὶ φιλοψύχου καὶ ὁμοίου τοῖς ἡμιβρώτοις θηριομάχοις, οἵτινες μεστοὶ τραυμάτων καὶ λύθρου παρακαλοῦσιν ὁμῶς εἰς τὴν αὖριον φυλαχθῆναι, παραβληθησόμενοι τοιοῦτοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὄνυξι καὶ δῆγμασιν.* Here, though used in a comparison, the word is descriptive and literal, not metaphorical.

Thus I find myself torn two ways, in one by the language and the context, in another by the historic probabilities; but we know very little of what was permissible or possible in the conduct of gladiatorial games at Ephesus. For instance, there is some reason to believe that Paul suffered imprisonment at Ephesus, and prisoners might have been among the victims selected for the shows. In any case the incidents covered by *ἐθηριομάχησα* have nothing to do with the riot of the silversmiths; that is precluded by the date of the Epistle.

xvi. Ch. xvi is of the nature of a business postscript, dealing with practical instructions and plans for the future.

xvi. 1. The tone of 1—4 is one of confident authority. He assumes sympathetic obedience as a matter of course. There is no thought of apology or presumption, or of commending the cause to their own instincts of Christian brotherhood and liberality, such as pervades every line of 2 Cor. viii—ix. He has no fear or suspicion of his authority being called in

¹ S. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians and Corinthians.

² M. Anton. x. 8.

xvi. 3—4. ὅταν δὲ παραγένωμαι, οὓς ἐὰν δοκιμάσητε δι' ἐπιστο-
4 λῶν, τούτους πέμψω ἀπενεγκεῖν τὴν χάριν ὑμῶν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ· ἐὰν
δὲ ἄξιον ᾖ τοῦ καμῆ πορεύεσθαι, σὺν ἐμοὶ πορεύσονται.

question, and the simple imperative *οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιήσατε* is far indeed removed from the attitude of Cor. 8 and Cor. γ.

There can be little doubt that his opponents made capital out of this assumption, this presumption as they called it on the part of Paul, and appealed to the meaner instincts of self-interest in their effort to discredit the apostolic commission of S. Paul, and to uphold independent obligation to Christ alone. It seems clear that the collection was *not* taken up with any warmth of support (see on 2 Cor. viii. 6), and this is in part the explanation.

The manner of the request is indeed somewhat peremptory and even injudicious, a part of S. Paul's impulsive eagerness, and his entire confidence in the affection and devotion of his Corinthian converts. Letters only too often belie the mood and intention of the writer, and admit of misconstruction.

ὥσπερ διέταξα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας. This accords well with the assigned date 54 A.D. The instructions to the Galatian Churches are evidently recent; yet the weekly collection must have continued for some time; that was the whole object of the method adopted. But the fund was complete, the Galatian representatives had been appointed, and had come with the funds entrusted to them to Macedonia before the end of the year 55 A.D. It is reasonable to think of the collection as instituted early rather than late in 54 A.D.

xvi. 3, 4. The language used shows that S. Paul's own participation in the presentation of the gifts at Jerusalem is as yet far from certain. That they would be presented formally, by accredited representatives, and naturally in connexion with one of the great festivals, is assumed, but whether S. Paul would himself accompany the envoys is quite uncertain; it depends upon whether, when the time comes, it seems worth while (*ἐὰν δὲ ἄξιον ᾖ τοῦ καμῆ πορεύεσθαι*) in view of other projects. Now this is a very different situation from that denoted later, when his purpose had taken full shape, and his own participation in the embassy had become a matter of

xvi. 5—8. ἐλεύσομαι δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅταν Μακεδονίαν διέλθω,
6 Μακεδονίαν γὰρ διέρχομαι, πρὸς ὑμᾶς δὲ τυχὸν καταμενῶ ἢ παραχει-
7 μάσω, ἵνα ὑμεῖς με προπέμψητε οὐ ἂν πορεύωμαι. οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς
ἄρτι ἐν παρόδῳ ἰδεῖν, ἐλπίζω γὰρ χρόνον τινὰ ἐπιμείναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἂν
8 ὁ κύριος ἐπιτρέψῃ. ἐπιμένω δὲ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἕως τῆς πεντηκοστῆς·

life and death. Acts xix. 21, so far as it may be trusted in this connexion, represents his purpose as fully formed, and indeed complicated arrangements for its execution already planned (cf. Acts xx. 4), before his departure from Ephesus (about May, 55 A.D.). The mood of 1 Cor. xvi. 3—4 is not coincident with, but prior to, the mood of Acts xix. 21; and the ascription of the Epistle to Easter 55 A.D. leaves no time for the elaborate arrangements contemplated in xvi. 2. Thus the reference of the Epistle to the earlier date (to 54 instead of 55 A.D.) removes a contradiction, and brings the records into harmony. The point is well discussed by Kennedy, pp. 19—33.

xvi. 5. At the time of writing his plan is to go from Ephesus to Macedonia, *to make a tour of Macedonia* (such is the habitual usage of the familiar διέρχομαι, cf. e.g. Acts viii. 40, ix. 32, xiii. 6, xiv. 24, xvi. 6 &c.), and *after that* to make a long stay (καταμενῶ v. 5, and οὐκ ἐν παρόδῳ ἰδεῖν and χρόνον τινὰ ἐπιμεῖναι v. 7), or even pass the winter at Corinth. Now assuming (as has been already established) that this Epistle precedes Cor. 8 and γ, this implies that the Epistle was written *not later than the summer of 54 A.D.*, for some months are obviously necessary to carry out the scheme outlined. The intention—for what precise reasons we are not able to say, but in general terms it was no doubt the extension of his evangelistic work in and about Ephesus indicated in xvi. 9—was not at once carried out, but was actually put in effect in the following year, 55 A.D., when he found himself at last set free from Ephesus, and able to fulfil his long-cherished design. The assumption that the intention here expressed was *at once* realised in the movements recorded in Acts xx. 1—2 has been the one reason for ascribing the composition of this Epistle to the year 55 A.D. The cumulative reasons for treating it as faulty seem overwhelming.

xvi. 8. ἐπιμένω δὲ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἕως τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς. We are thus

xvi. 9—II. θύρα γάρ μοι ἀνέωγεν μεγάλη καὶ ἐνεργής, καὶ
 10 ἀντικείμενοι πολλοί. ἐὰν δὲ ἔλθῃ Τιμόθεος, βλέπετε ἵνα ἀφόβως
 11 γένηται πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τὸ γὰρ ἔργον Κυρίου ἐργάζεται ὡς ἐγώ· μή τις
 οὖν αὐτὸν ἐξουθενήσῃ. προπέμψατε δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἵνα ἔλθῃ πρὸς
 με, ἐκδέχομαι γὰρ αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν.

brought to Pentecost of 54 A.D. The phrase used clearly implies that the season was approaching, was so to speak within sight. It certainly precludes the theory that the Epistle was written in the autumn of the preceding year. He could not look forward some seven or eight months, and passing over the New Year and Passover seasons specify the time of his departure with the kind of exactitude implied by 'Pentecost.' He was writing with the approach of Pentecost in sight, and the definition of date fully bears out the implication already discerned in the ὥστε ἐορτάζωμεν of 1 Cor. v. 8, that he was writing the Epistle at about the season of Easter. Only the Easter referred to is the Easter of 54 A.D., not of 55 A.D., the Easter *prior* to that, at or near which the composition of Cor. 8 falls. Thus we have attained a fixed date for the writing of the Epistle, which satisfies all the data, and accords with the πέρυσιν of 2 Cor. viii. 10, ix. 2.

xvi. 9. θύρα μεγάλη κ. ἐνεργής. It is no wonder that he was detained at Ephesus longer than he intended or foresaw.

xvi. 10. εἰν ἔλθῃ Τιμόθεος. This has been sufficiently discussed on iv. 17, and 2 Cor. i. 1. The journey must be dissociated from the despatch of Timothy to Macedonia, recorded in Acts xix. 22, which belongs to the following year; and there is indeed nothing to connect them except mistaken inferences and reconstructions. It is strange that the words ἐκδέχομαι αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν should have been so entirely disregarded. They are decisive. S. Paul was writing at Ephesus, and when he despatched Timothy and Erastus into Macedonia, he most certainly did not expect them again at *Ephesus*, though when despatching Cor. β it was natural for him to do so, and the expectation was in fact realised. Nor can ἐκδέχομαι possibly be used in the sense 'I look forward to following and rejoining them.' The further objection latent in the μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν is a minor point, but should not be passed over. It means the brethren charged with conveyance of the Epistle, most likely including Titus.

XVI. 12—24. περὶ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, πολλὰ παρεκάλεσα αὐτὸν ἵνα ἔλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν· καὶ πάντως οὐκ ἦν θέλημα ἵνα νῦν ἔλθῃ, ἐλεύσεται δὲ ὅταν εὐκαιρήσῃ.

- 13 14 γρηγορεῖτε, στήκετε ἐν τῇ πίστει, ἀνδρίζεσθε, κραταιοῦσθε. πάντα
 15 ὑμῶν ἐν ἀγάπῃ γινέσθω. παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί· οἶδατε τὴν
 οἰκίαν Στεφανᾶ, ἣτι ἐστὶν ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας καὶ εἰς διακονίαν τοῖς
 16 ἁγίοις ἔταξαν ἑαυτούς· ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑποτάσσησθε τοῖς τοιούτοις
 17 καὶ παντὶ τῷ συνεργοῦντι καὶ κοπιῶντι. χαίρω δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ
 Στεφανᾶ καὶ Φορτουνάτου καὶ Ἀχαϊκοῦ, ὅτι τὸ ὑμέτερον ὑστέρημα
 οὗτοι ἀνεπλήρωσαν, ἀνέπαυσαν γὰρ τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὑμῶν.
 18 ἐπιγινώσκετε οὖν τοὺς τοιούτους.
 19 ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Ἀσίας. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἐν
 κυρίῳ πολλὰ Ἀκύλας καὶ Πρίσκα σὺν τῇ κατ' οἶκον αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ.
 20 ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάντες. ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλή-
 21 22 ματι ἁγίῳ. ὁ ἀσπασμὸς τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ Παύλου. εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν
 23 κύριον, ἤτω ἀνάθεμα. Μαρὰν ἀθά. ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ μεθ'
 24 ὑμῶν. ἡ ἀγάπη μου μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

xvi. 12. Apollos is with S. Paul at Ephesus. This furnishes no clue, beyond giving us a *terminus ad quem* for the ministry of Apollos at Corinth. He went there, commended by the brethren, in the summer of 52 A.D., before the commencement of S. Paul's residence at Ephesus (Acts xviii. 27). His stay certainly did not outlast the beginning of 54 A.D., with reasonable security we may say the close of the navigation season in 53 A.D. A year or so is the time we may naturally assign to his preaching at Corinth, and it was *after his departure* that the disaffection towards S. Paul, and the gradual hardening of party feuds, set in. It is to this we must attribute his disinclination to revisit Corinth at this juncture; everything shows that he was of that receptive temperament which quickly caught the impress of its surroundings. He may not have felt so sure of himself, as Paul felt of him. *ἐλεύσεται ὅταν εὐκαιρήσῃ.*

Incidentally these notices imply that the travelling season had recommenced, according with the Easter date assigned on independent grounds.

xvi. 15—20. The remaining personal notices add nothing to previous data. Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus may have been of Chloe's household, but are more likely (note *ἐδηλώθη*, not *δεδήλωται* in i. 11) later emissaries, who had brought the Corinthian despatch. The metaphorical *ἀπαρχή*, used too without article, cannot be pressed into a statement that Stephanas was the first Christian convert in Achaia. The metaphor implies selection and dedication, even more than strict priority. Aquila and Prisca are still at Ephesus, where S. Paul had left them in 52 A.D. (Acts xviii. 18, 26). By the winter of 55 A.D. they had returned to Rome (Rom. xvi. 3), but we have no data for fixing the time of their departure from Ephesus. By reference of the epistle to Easter 54 A.D., the time open for their remigration is extended to nearly two years.

xvi. 19. *αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Ἀσίας.* Already his operations had

extended beyond Ephesus itself to neighbouring cities, as revealed more fully in the ἡ μέριμνα πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν of 2 Cor. xi. 28.

The examination of these Epistles has traversed what has been justly called the climax of the missionary labours of S. Paul, and it is no small gain if the discussion has shed a fuller and a truer light upon his experiences and the working of his mind in this culminating period of strain and stress. 'No one,' it is said¹, 'has yet been able to draw a convincing portrait of S. Paul from his Epistles alone.' For this end, it is for one thing essential that the Epistles to the Corinthians should be read in their true setting. And the same is true of the Epistles to the Galatians and the Romans, on which these intimately react. Little by little mistakes and misapprehensions are being cleared away. The work of excavation is necessarily slow and laborious. But gradually the fragments are being adjusted to their proper place. And it is necessary to reconstruct not the central figure only, but also the surroundings in which he was placed. This means the gradual reconstruction of the scenes, the times, the forces, the whole complex civilisation—Oriental, Jewish, Hellenic, Roman—in which he lived and moved. Year by year, through such work as that with which Prof. Ramsay is opening up the ways of knowledge, that is being effected. The ground is being cleared of *débris*; the structure in all its parts is reassuming form and outline; mistaken restorations are being fitted to their place; the dimensions and proportions of each part more accurately determined; the writing on the walls of each deciphered and interpreted. Then will arise the master-builder, with power to apprehend and to reveal S. Paul in his Epistles in living and convincing portraiture.

¹ Harnack, *Luke the Physician*, p. 139.

In conclusion, as the best test of the coherence and stability of the whole scheme, I have drawn out a *Chronological Synopsis* of the order of events, resulting from the details which our examination has revealed.

50. Sept.	S. Paul passes from Athens to Corinth, and stays there 1 year, 6 months. [Sept. is involved by reckoning 18 months back from February. He must leave Corinth in Feb. or early March to reach Jerusalem for Passover. Passover in 52 A.D. fell on April 2, in 53 A.D. on March 22, according to Lewin.]	Timothy and Silas come up with S. Paul at Athens.
50. Sep.—52. Feb.	S. Paul resides at Corinth—part of the time with Aquila and Priscilla.	Timothy and Silas re-join S. Paul at Corinth.
52. Feb. or March.	S. Paul takes ship from Cenchreæ, with Aquila and Priscilla.	
March.	S. Paul makes a passing stay at Ephesus, and promises speedy return. Sets sail for Cæsarea.	52—54. Aquila and Priscilla remain at Ephesus.
April.	S. Paul salutes the Church at Jerusalem.	
April—May.	S. Paul goes down to Antioch, and there spends a certain time— <i>ποιῆσας τινὰ χρόνον</i> (Acts xviii. 23).	Apollos arrives at Ephesus, and preaches. Apollos is instructed by Aquila and Priscilla.
June—August.	S. Paul makes a systematic tour of Galato-Phrygia.	Apollos proceeds from Ephesus to Corinth.
Sept. or Oct.	S. Paul reaches Ephesus.	
52. Sept.—55. May.	S. Paul's <i>ᾠκιστὴς</i> at Ephesus. The first 3 months he preaches in the Synagogue: then for two years or more (<i>ἐπὶ ἔτη δύο</i> , Acts xix. 10) in the School of Tyrannus. The whole is loosely, but quite properly, described as <i>ᾠκιστὴς</i> (Acts xx. 31).	
52. Oct.—Dec.		
53. Jan.—55. March.	At Ephesus, preaching in School of Tyrannus. <i>S. Paul writes Cor. α to Corinth.</i>	53. Timothy is at Ephesus.
53.	Work of evangelisation at Ephesus and neighbouring cities.	Autumn. Apollos returns from Corinth to Ephesus.
53 end of year.	S. Paul receives disquieting news from Corinth, through Chloe and others.	
	S. Paul sends Timothy by land route to Corinth.	Timothy sets out from Ephesus by way of Macedonia.
54. ? March.	<i>S. Paul receives despatch from Corinthian Church</i> , brought probably by Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus.	

54. April.	<i>S. Paul replies with Cor. β</i> , sent probably by Titus. [April 10 is date of Passover.]	Apollos remains on at Ephesus (1 Cor. xvi.).
Summer.	<i>S. Paul busy with evangelisation</i> (1 Cor. xvi. 9) of 'Asia.'	Timothy rejoins bearers of Cor. β at Corinth and returns with them to Ephesus.
Autumn.		Probable 2nd mission of Titus to Corinth.
55.	News from Corinth grows worse and worse: passing to open defection.	
? Feb.	<i>S. Paul revisits Corinth.</i> On return journey suffers shipwreck.	
March.	On return to Ephesus, <i>S. Paul at once writes Cor. δ</i> , and sends it by hands of Titus.	Titus (3rd Mission) sent from Ephesus to Corinth.
April.	The tumult at Ephesus, probably in connexion with the great festival of <i>Ἀπρεμὶς Οἰκουμένικῇ</i> in April.	Timothy and Erastus sent forward to Macedonia (Acts xix. 22)
May.	<i>S. Paul leaves Ephesus</i> , and travels slowly to Troas, visiting Christian Churches on the way <i>διελθὼν τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα</i> (Acts xx. 2, corroborated by 2 Cor. ii. 12).	Timothy awaits Paul there (2 Cor. i. 1), and probably remained on till March, 56 (Acts xx. 4).
June.	<i>S. Paul passes from Troas to Philippi</i> , and there finds Titus. <i>S. Paul writes Cor. γ.</i>	Titus goes to Philippi, and there awaits Paul's coming.
July (or early August).		
Aug.—Oct.	<i>S. Paul evangelises westwards towards Illyricum</i> (Rom. xv. 19).	Titus (4th Mission), S. Luke, and a third 'brother,' carry Cor. γ to Corinth, and superintend the collections for Jerusalem.
Nov.	<i>S. Paul, with representative Macedonians</i> , goes to Corinth.	
55. Dec.—56. Feb.	<i>S. Paul stays 3 months at Corinth</i> —his 3rd visit.	
56. March.	<i>S. Paul returns with Luke from Corinth to Philippi</i> (Acts xx. 3), spends Passover (March 19 or April 18) at Philippi, and takes ship with Luke for Troas and Jerusalem.	Timothy, and other envoys, precede Paul to Troas.

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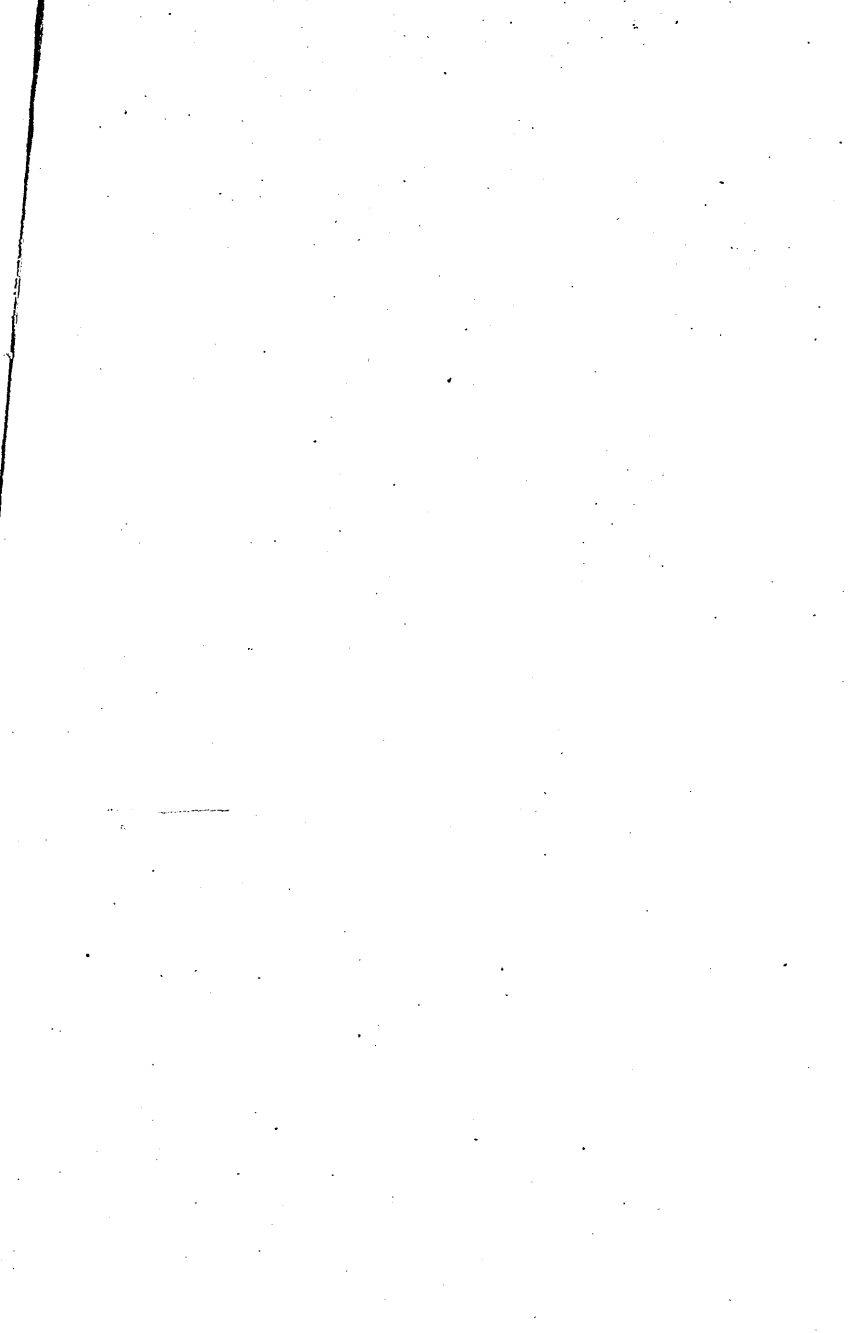
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